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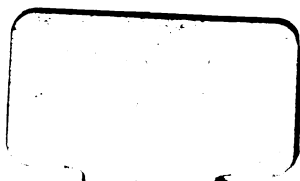
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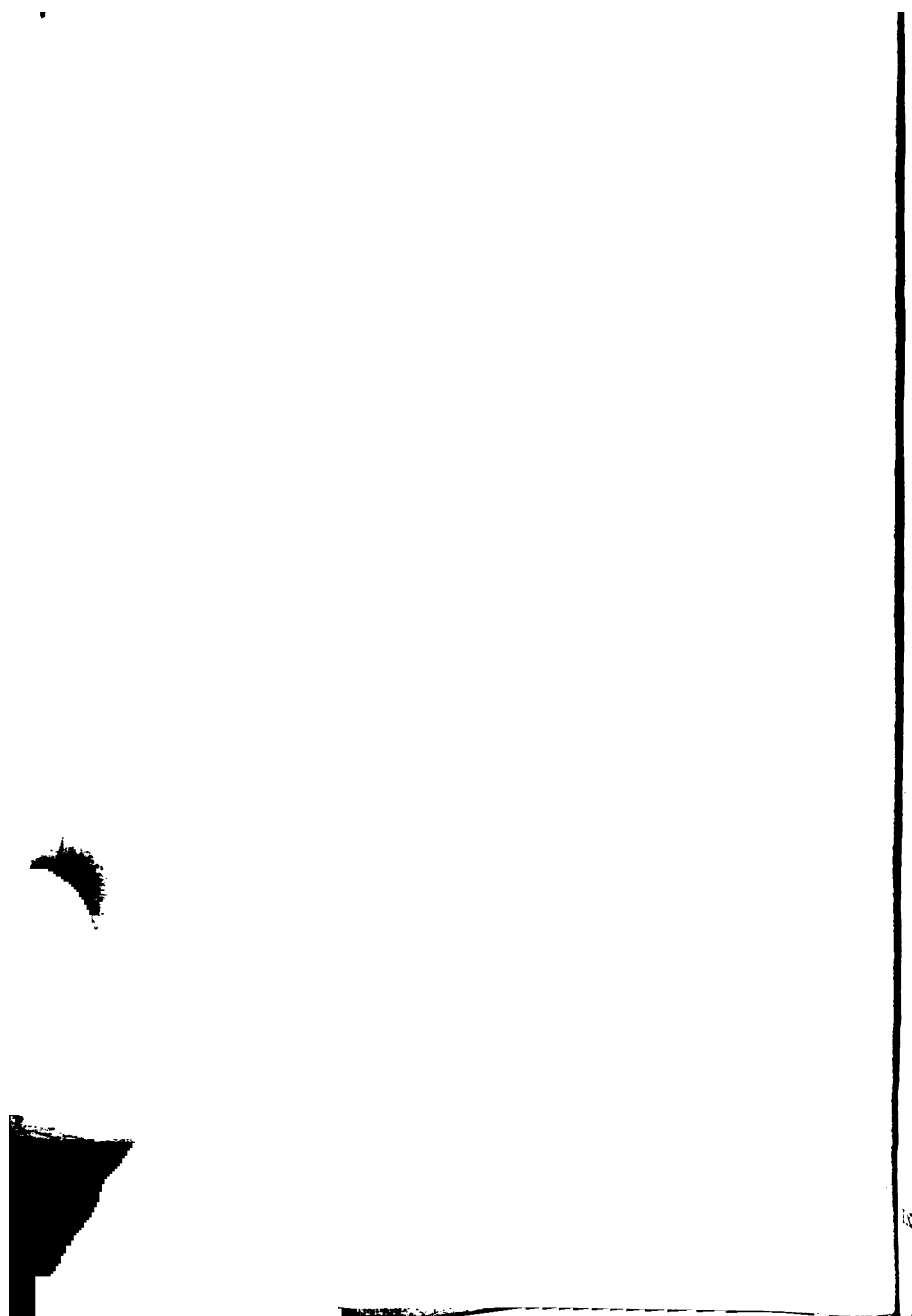




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THE
COMPLETE WORKS
IN
VERSE AND PROSE
OF
EDMUND SPENSER.

VOL. IX.

A VEUUE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.
LETTERS, &c.



THE
COMPLETE WORKS
IN
VERSE AND PROSE
OF
EDMUND SPENSER.

*EDITED, WITH A NEW LIFE, BASED ON ORIGINAL RESEARCHES,
AND A GLOSSARY EMBRACING NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.*

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ETC.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.

PROSE :

A VUE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.
LETTERS, ETC.

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A, 1

10-7-1900

PROSE.

I.

A VEUE OF THE PRESENT
STATE OF IRELAND.

1596.

NOTE.

Dr. Morris, in his 'Globe' Spenser, thus writes (in Preface) of his text of the 'View of the Present State of Ireland':—

"The prose Treatise on Ireland, as printed by Sir James Ware, and followed by all recent editors, was found on examination, to be very inaccurate and incomplete. It seemed scarcely fair to Spenser's memory to let this single piece of prose remain in so unsatisfactory a state. I have therefore re-edited it from three manuscripts belonging to the library of the British Museum. The text itself is from the Additional Manuscript 22022, the oldest of the three manuscripts; and, according to Sir James Ware's account of some of the best manuscripts seen by him, the Ad. MS. is evidently a very good one. Harleian MS. 1932, which very closely resembles, even in its omissions, Ware's text, and Harleian MS. 7388, are very fair manuscripts, and have been collated throughout with the Additional Manuscript and Ware's text" (pp. iii-iv).

There is abundant evidence that Dr. Morris must have spent considerable pains in the collation of the two MSS. named, as compared with his adopted MS. The 'various readings' recorded in his Appendix (pp. 703-5) are creditable to his industry. None the less it is surprising that he should have adopted for text an anonymous and unauthenticated and undated MS., and with such supererogatory minuteness given us the various readings of the other MSS.—manuscripts that only a slight examination shew to be perfunctory and unreliable. The surprise is increased because Dr. Morris incidentally reveals that he was aware of the Lambeth MS., though he gives no evidence of having so much as looked at it; in this differing from Todd, who must have (at least) dipped into it. Without any hesitation I have elected the Lambeth MS. for my text, because (a) It was the copy submitted by the Author to the Archbishop of Canterbury for License; (b) It is initialled E. S., and dated by him; (c) It gives by far the most satisfactory readings throughout, albeit, having been transcribed by several writers, it has certain easily-corrected clerical mistakes. I have to return his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury my right hearty thanks for allowing me the loan in my own study of this important MS. (J. O. : 10 4to vol. 92, Bibliotheca Lambeth : , 111 folios = 222 pages and 1 blank at beginning and end), that I might leisurely *verbatim et literatim* transcribe and collate.

My procedure has been as follows : I reproduce the Lambeth MS. as my text fundamentally; but in footnotes record anything that seemed to call for

notice in comparing it with (a) Dr. Morris's, (b) Mr. J. Payne Collier's text. But neither yields much of any great moment—*id est*, so as to be preferred to the Lambeth MS., my own text : *e.g.* the orthography differs repeatedly, and small words, as 'of' and 'the,' which our MS. drops, are inserted—as illustrated on the first page of the 'Veue'; but it were mere pedantry to record these. In only two little things have I ventured to depart from literal reproduction of our MS. : *viz.*, I have extended contractions, as 'ye' for 'the,' 'y' for 'that,' 'wh' for 'which,' and '&' for 'and,' and the like; and I have punctuated more frequently, the comma being, (as was then the mode, almost the entire punctuation of the MS. Otherwise, the Author's own text, in its quaint and varying orthography, etc., is given in integrity. In the Glossary (Vol. X.) will be found Notes and Illustrations, under all noticeable words. See for more in the new Life and related Essays in Vol. I., where I give examples of the superiority of our text to Dr. Morris's, as to all.

A. B. G.

A
Veue
of
The Prefent State
of
Ireland.

1596.



A Veue of the present State of Ireland.

DISCOURSED BY WAY OF A DIALOGUE BETWENE
EUDOXUS AND IRENIUS.

Eudoxus.



UT if that country of Ireland, whence you lately came, be so goodly and commodious a soyle as you report, I wounder that no course is taken for the tounring ¹⁰ therof to good uses, and reducing that salvage nation to better government and civillity.

Irenius. Mary, so ther have bin divers good plotts devised, and wise counsells cast alredy about reformation of that realme ; but they fay it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purpofes, whatfoever are ment for her good, wil prosper and take good effect : which, whether it proceede from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starrs, or ²⁰ that Almighty god hath not yet appoynted the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her

. The various readings placed underneath are drawn from Dr. Morris's text, when not otherwise stated—a few only accepted. See Introductory Note.

in this manner have I for some secret scourge,
which hath by her come into England, it is hard
to be knowne but yet much to be feared.

Thus I surmise I suppose this but a vaine conceit
of some men, which judge things by ther effects,
and not by ther causes: for I would rather thinck
the cause of this evil, which hangeth upon that
country, to proceede rather upon the unsoundnesse
of the church, and piers, which you say have bin
often times laid for her reformation, or of fayntnesse
in doing and effecting the same, then of any such
fatal error or appointment of god, as you misderme
but it is the manner of men, that when they are
fallen into any blindness, or theyre actions succeed
not as they would, they are ready always to impute
the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse the
own folly and imperfections: so have I also heard
it often wished, even of some whos great wisdom
in [my] opinion should seeme to judge more soundly
so weighty a consideration, that all that land were
a sea-pool: which kind of speech, is the manner
rather of desperate men far driven, to with the utter
ruine of that which they cannot redresse, then
grave counsellors, which ought to thinck nothing
hard, but that through wisdom, it may be mastered
and subdued; since the poet sayth, that the wisem
shall rule even over the starrs, much more over
the earth: for weare it not the part of a despera
phition to wish his diseased patient dead, rather
then to imploy the best indevours of his skill
try: but since we are so far entred, let

I pray you, devise of those evils, by which this country is held in this wretched case, that as you say, be recured. And if it be not possible for you, to tell us what things during your late continuance ther, you observed, to be most offensive and impeachfull, unto the good rule and government therof.

Iren. Surely Eudox, the evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora: but since you so please, I will out of that infinit number, reckon but some that are most capitall, and commonly occurrent both in the life and condicions of private men, and also in the manage of publique affaires and policie. The which you shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of very great antiquity and long continuance; others more late and of lesse continuance; others daily, growing and increasing continually, as the evil occasions are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them. I pray you, in the same order that you have now rehearsed them: for they can be no better remedied then this which the very matter it self offered. And when you have recounted all the evils, let us heare your opinion in recuring of them. After which they will perhaps offer some appere some reasonable way to better a more perfect rule of government by improving the

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y way to the
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agre, being a
ed and, if it
quite shaken
er obedience.
e Conqueror,

L. 54. the first part of the speech is the longest
be a lengthy one: the second part is the longest
L. 73. the

in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by ther effects, and not by ther causes; for I would rather thinck the cause of this euel, which hangeth upon that country, to proceede rather upon the unsoundnesse 30 of the counsell, and plotts, which you say have bin oftentimes layd for her reformacon, or of fayntnesse in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course or appoyntment of god, as you misdeme; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or theyre actions succeede not as they would, they are ready alwayes to impute the blame therof unto the heavens, so to excuse their own folly and imperfections: so have I also heard it often wished, (even of some whos great wisedome 40 in [my] opinion should seme to judg more soundly of so weighty a confideracon) that all that land weare a sea-poole: which kind of speach, is the manner rather of desperate men far driven, to with the utter ruine of that which they cannot redresse, then of grave counsellors, which ought to thinck nothing so hard, but that through wisedome, it may be maistered and subdued; since the poet sayth, that the wifeman shall rule even over the starrs, much more over the earth: for weare it not the part of a desperate 50 phisition to wish his diseased patient dead, rather then to imploy the best indeuours of his skill for his recovery: but since we are so far entred, let us

I pray you, devise of those evils, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot, as you say, be recured. And if it be not painfull to you, to tell us what things during your late continuance ther, you observed, to be most offensive, and impeachfull, unto the good rule and government therof.

60

Iren. Surely Eudox., the evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora: but since you so please, I will out of that infinit number, reckone but some that are most capitall, and commonly occurrent both in the life and condicions of private men, and also in the manage of publique affaires and pollicie. The which you shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of very 70 great antiquity and long continuance; others more late and of lesse endurance; others dayly / growing and increasfing continually, as the evill occasions are every day offred.

Eudox. Tell them, I pray you, in the same order that you have now rehearsed them: for ther can be no better methode then this which the very matter it self offreth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for redressing of them. After which ther will perhaps of it self 80 appere some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect rule of government, by shunning the former

l. 54, 'a little devise,' but is absurd, as the Discourse was meant to be a lengthy one: l. 66, 'current': l. 67, 'as': l. 68, 'managing': l. 75, 'then'

evills, and following the offred good. The which methode we may learne of the wise Phisitions, which first require that the malady be knowne throughly and discovered: afterwards do teach how to cure and redresse it: and lastly do prescribe a diet with streight rules and orders to be dayly observed, for feare of relaps into the former disease, or falling into some other more dangerous then it.

Iren. I will then according to your advisement, begin to declare the evills which seme to be most hurtfull to the comon-weale of that land: and first, those which I sayd were most ancient and long growne: and they are also of 3 kinds; the first in the lawes, the second in customes, the last in religion.

Eudox. Why, Irenius, can there be anie evill in the lawes? can things which are ordayned for the safetie and good of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote both in that state and in all other, that were they not containd in doutie with feare of lawe which restrayneth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, no man should enjoy anie thing, everie mans hand would be against another. Therefore in finding fault with the lawes I doubt me you shall muche over-shote your selfe, and make me the more dislike your other dislikes of that government.

Iren. / The lawes Eudox., I doe not blame for them selves, knowing that all lawes are ordayned for the good of the common weal and for repressing of licentiousnesse and vice: but it falleth out in lawes,

l. 89, 'a': l. 92, 'me': l. 96, 'third': l. 111, 'right well.'

no otherwise then it doth in Phisick, which was at first devised, and is yet dayly ment and ministred for the health of the patient : but neverthelesse we often se that either through ignorance of the disease, or unseasonableness of the time, or other accidents comming betwene, in stead of good it worketh hurt, and out of one evill, throweth the patient into many 120 miseries: so the lawes were at first intended for the reformatiō of abuses, and peaceable continuance of the subjects: but are since either disannulled or quite prevaricated through chang and alteration of times, yet are they good still in them selves: but to that common wealth which is ruled by them they worke not that good which they should, and sometimes also perhaps that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether do you meane this by the common lawes of the realme or by the statute lawes and acts 130 of parliament?

Iren. Surely by them both: for even the common lawes, being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conquest and layd upon the neck of England, though it perhaps fitted well with the state of England then being, and was readily obeyed through the power of the commander which had before subdued the people to him, and made easy way to the setting of his will; yet with the state of Ireland peradventure it doth not so well / agre, being a 140 people altogether stubborn and vntamed and, if it were once tamed, yet now lately have quite shaken of ther yoke and broken the bands of ther obedience. For England, before the entrance of the Conqueror,

l. 123, 'fithence': l. 141, 'or.'

was an unpeaceable kingdome, and but lately entred to the mild and godly goverment of King Edward furnamed the confessor; besides now lately growne unto a lothing and detestation of the unjust and tyrannous rule of Harold, an usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable 150 condicions and order of the new Viçtor, thincking surely it would be no worfe then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former: yet what the prooffe of the first bringing in and establisshing of the lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is far otherwise: for it is a nation ever acquainted with warrs, though but amongest themselves, and in ther owne kind of military disciplin, trayned up even from their youths: which they have never yet bin taught to lay aside, 160 nor made to learne obedience unto the law, scarcely to know the name of law, but in stead thereof have alwayes preserved and kept ther owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

Iren. It is a certaine rule of right, unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to an other, in which oftentimes ther appereth great shew of equity, in determinining the right betwene party and 170 party, but in many things repugning quite from gods law and mans, as for example, in the case of murther. The Brehon that is there judg, will

l. 146, 'goodly': l. 152, 'later': l. 155, 'hath beene': *ib.*, 'after':
l. 164, 'Brehooone': l. 166, 'it . . . unknowne' not in our MS.:
. 171, 'both to.'

compound betwene the murtherer, and the frends of the party murthered, which profecute the action, that the malefactor fhall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is flaine, a recompence, which they call an Iriach; by which vile law of thers, many / murders are amongest them made up and smothered. And this judg being, as he 180 is called, the Lord Brehon, adjudgeth for the moft part a better fhare unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the foyle, or the head of that fepte, and alfo unto him felf, for his judgment, a greater portion then unto the plaintifes or parties grieved.

Eudox. That is a moft wicked law indeed: but I truſt it is not now uſed in Ireland, ſince the kings of England have had the abſolute dominion therof, and eſtabliſhed ther owne lawes there.

Iren. Yes truly, for ther are many wide countries 190 in Ireland, in which the lawes of England were never eſtabliſhed, nor any acknowledgment of ſubjection made: and alſo even in thoſe which are ſubdued and ſeme to acknowledg ſubjection, yet the ſame Brehon law is privily practiſed amongest them ſelves, by reaſon that dwelling as they do, whole nations and ſepts of the Irifh together, without any Engliſhman amongest them, they may do what they liſt, and compound or altogether conceale amongest them ſelves ther owne crimes, of which no notice 200 can be had by them which would and might amend the ſame, by the rule of the lawes of England.

Eudox. What is this which you ſay? and is ther any part of that realme, or any nacōn therin, which

l. 178, 'Breaghe': *ib.*, 'bi law.'

have not yet bin subdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme uniuersally accept and acknowledg our late Prince of famous memory, Henry the eight, ther ownely King and liege Lord?

Iren. Yes verily: in a parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Legar, then Lord Deputy, 210 all the Irish Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire means wrought therunto, acknowledged King / Henry for their Sovereigne Lord, reserving yet, as some say, unto them selves, all their owne former privileges and signories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his soveraignety they also accepted of his lawes: why then should any other lawes be now used amongst them?

Iren. Trew it is that therby they bound them selves to his lawes and obedience, and in case it had 220 bin followed against them, as it should have bin, and a goverment therupon presently setled amongst them agreeable therunto, they should have bin reduced to perpetuall civillity and containd in continuall duty: but what boots it to breake a colt, and to let him streight run lose at randome? so were this poeple at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledg allegiance to the King of England: but being straight left unto them selves and ther owne inordinate life and manners, they 230 eftsones forgot what before they were taught, and so sone as they were out of sight by them selves, shooke of ther bridles, and began to colt anew, more licentiously then before.

Eudox. It is great pitty, that so good an opportu-

nity was omitted, and so happy an occasion fore-slacked, that might have bred the eternall good of that land: but do they not still acknowledg that submissiō?

Iren. No, they doe not, for now the heires and posterity of them which yeilded the same are, as they say, either ignorant therof, or do wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

Eudox. How can they so do justly? doth not the act of the parent, in any lawfull grant or conveyance, bind his heires for ever therunto? Sith then the / ancestors of thes that now live yeilded them selves their subjects and liege men, shall it not ty ther children to the same subjection?

Iren. They say no: for ther ancestours had had no estate in any ther lands, Seigniories, or hereditaments, longer then during ther owne lives, as they allege: for all the Irish do hould ther lands by Tanistrie: which is to say, no more but a personall estate for his life time, that is Tanist. By reason that he is admitted therunto by election of the country.

Eudox. What is this which you call Tanist and Tanistrie? they be names and tearmes never heard of or knowne to us.

Iren. It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently after the death of any ther chiefe Lords or Captaines, they do presently assemble them selves to a place, generally appoynted and knowne unto them, to chose an other in his stead: where they do

l. 236, 'fore-slack'd': l. 240, 'Now': l. 245, in our MS. miswritten 'parliament': l. 248, 'then': l. 254, 'as say they': l. 255, 'Tanisth.'

nominate and elect, for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of ther Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him, if he have any, or the next couzine germane, or so forth, as any is elder in that kindred or sept: and then next to him do those chose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succede him in the sayd Captenry, if he live therunto. 270

Eudox. / Do they use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rights.

Iren. They use to place him that shall be their Captaine, upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon an hill: in many of the which I have sene the fote of a man formed and graven, which they say was the measure of ther first Captaines foot, wheron he standing receiveth an oath to preserve all the former auncient customes of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some, whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he tourneth him self round, thrice forward and thrice backward. 280

Eudox. But how is the Tanist chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one foote upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this custome? for it is good to know the same, and may perhaps discover

some secret meaning and intent therein, very material to the state of that government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for 300 the defence and maintenance of ther land in ther posterity, and for excluding all innovacōn or alienacōn / thereof unto strangers, and especially to the English: for when ther Captaine dieth, if the Seigniory should discend unto his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might perhaps step in betwene and thrust him out by strong hand, being then vnable to defend his right, or to withstand the force of a forrayner: and therfore they do appoynt the eldest of the kin to have the seigniory, for that 310 he commonly is a man of stronger yeares, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the country, either against the next bordering Lords, which use commonly to incroch one upon an other as each one is stronger, or against the English, which they thinck ly still in wayte to wipe them out of ther lands and territories. And to this end the Tanist is alwayes ready knowne, if it should happen the Captaine suddenly to dy or to be slayne in batayle, or to be out of the country, to defend and 320 kepe it from all such doubts and dangers. Ffor which cause the Tanist hath also a share of the country allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

➤ *Eudox.* When I heare this word Tanist, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it should signify a province or Seignory [as] Aquitania,

Lusitania and Britania, the which some do thinck to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes : but, I thinck, amisse, for sure it semeth, that it came anciently 330 from those barberous nacons that overranne the world, which possessed those dominions, wherof they are now so called. And so it may well be that from thence the first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came, and the custome therof hath sithence, as many others els, bin continued : but to that generall subjection of the land, wherof we formerly spake, me femes that this custome or tenure can be no bar nor impeachment, feing that in open parlyament by ther sayd acknowledgment, they waived the benefit therof, 340 and submitted them selves to the ordinance of ther new soveraigne.

Iren. Yea but they fay, as I earst tould you, that they reserved their titles, tenures and feigniories whole and sound to them selves, and for prooffe alleged that they have ever since remayned to them untouched, so as now to alter them, they say shoul'd be a great wrong.

Eudox. What remedy is ther then, or means to avoyde this inconvenience, for, without first cutting out 350 this dangerous custome, it semeth hard to plant any found ordinance, or reduce them to a civill government, since all ther evill customes are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard : for by this act of parliament wherof we speake, nothing was given to King Henry, which he had not before from his auncestors, but onely the bare name of a King : ffor all other absolute power of principallity he had

L 330, 'for' is miswritten 'but' in our MS. : l. 350, 'of.'

in him self before derived from many former Kings,
 his famous progenitours, and worthy conquerors of 360
 that land, the which since they first conquered and by
 force subdued vnto them, what nede he afterward to
 enter into any such idle tearmes with them to be
 called ther King, when as it is in the power of the
 Conqueror to take upon him self what title he will
 over his dominions conquered: for all is the con-
 querors, / as Tully to Brutus sayth: and therefore me
 semes in stead of so great and meritorious a service,
 as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing
 all the Irish to acknowledg him for ther liege, they 370
 did great hurt to his title, and have left a perpetuall
 gall in the mind of that people, who before being
 absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but
 with tearmes whereas both ther lives, ther lands, and
 their liberties were in his fre power to appoynt what
 tenures, what lawes, what condicions he would over
 them, which were all his: against which ther could
 be no rightfull assistance, or if there were, he might,
 when he would, establish them with stronger hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it seemed better vnto 380
 that noble King to bring them by ther owne accord
 to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable goverment
 amongst them, then by such violent means to pluck
 them under. Neither yet hath he thereby lost any
 thing that he formerly had: for having al before
 absolutely in his owne power, it remaineth so still,
 he having neither forgiven nor forgon any thing
 thereby vnto them, but having received something

l. 374, 'wheras els': l. 378, 'resistance': l. 383, 'keepe': l. 386,
 'still vnto him.'

from them, that is a more voluntary and loyall subjection. So as her Majestie may yet, when it shall please her, alter any thing of thos former ordinances, or appoynt other lawes, that may be more both for her own behoofe, and for the good of that poeple. 390

Iren. Not so: for it is not so easy, now that things are growne into an habit and have ther certaine course, to change the channell, and turne ther streames an other way; for they may have now a collourable pretence to withstand such innovasion, having accepted of other lawes and rules alredy.

Eudox. But you say that they do not accept of them but delight rather to leane to theould customes and Brehon lawes, though they be much more vnjust, and also more inconvenient for the common poeple, as by your late relacon of them I gathered. As for the lawes of England, they are surely most just and most agreable both with the goverment and with the nature of the poeple: how falls it out then, that you seme to dislike of them, as not so meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the common law, but also the statutes and acts of parlament, which were specially provided and intended for the onely benefit therof? 400 410

Iren. I was about to have tould you my reason therein, but that you your self drew me away with other questions, for I was shewing you by what means, and in what fort, the positive lawes were first brought in and established by the Norman Conqueror; which were not by him devised, nor applyed to the state of the realme then being, nor as it might best be, (as should by lawgivers be principally regarded,) 420

but were indede the very lawes of his owne country of Normandy: the condicon wherof, how far it differeth from this of England, is apparent to every leaft judgment. But to transfer the fame lawes for the governing of the realme of Ireland, was much more inconvenient and unmete: for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more severity, and was also present in person to overloke the magistrates, and to over awe 430 the subjects with the terror of his sword, and countenance of his Majestie. But not so in Ireland: for they were otherwise effected, and yet not so remayned, so as the same lawes, me femes, can ill fit with their disposicion, or work that reformatacon that is wished: for lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and condicons of the people, to whom they are ment, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right: for then, as I sayd, in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert 440 justice to extreame injustice: ffor he that would transfer the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the poeple of Athens should find a great absurdity and inconvenience: for those lawes of Lacedemon were devised by Licurgus, as most proper and best agreeing with that people, whom he knew to be inclined altogether to warrs, and therefore wholly trayned them up even from ther cradles in armes and military exercises, cleane contrary to the institution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians labored by all 450

l. 428, '*Ireland*' miswritten '*England*' in our MS.: l. 433, '*affected*': *ib.*, '*doe*.'

means to temper ther warlike courages with swete delights of learning and sciences, so that as much as the one excelled in armes, the other exceded in knowledg: the like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering and menaging of this stubborn nation of the Irish, to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarisme unto the love of goodnesse and civillity.

Eudox. I cannot se how that may better be then by the discipline of the lawes of England: for the 460 English were, at first, as stoute and war like a poeple as ever were the Irish, and yet ye se are now brought to that civillity, that no nacon in the world excelleth them in all godly conversacon, and all the studies of knowledg and humanity.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I se very well, but by how many thorny and hard wayes they are come therunto, by how many civill broyles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazard[ed] often times the whole safety of the kingdome, may 470 easily be considered: all which they neverthelesse fairely overcame, by reason of the continewall presence of the King, whos onely person is oftentimes in stead of an army, to contayne the unruly poeple from a thousand evill occasions, which that wretched kingdome, is for want therof daily carried into. The which when they so make head, no lawes, no penalties can restraine, but that they do in the violence of that fury, tread doune and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes them- 480 selves they do specially rage at, and rend in peces, as

1. 479, 'theyr.'

most repugnant to ther liberty and naturall fredome, which in ther madnesse they effect.

Eudox. It is then a very unseasonable time to plead law, when swords are in the hands of the vulgare, or to thinck to retaine them with feare of punishments when they loke after liberty, and shake of all goverment.

Iren. Then so it is with Ireland continually, for the sword was never yet out of ther hand, but when they 490 are weary with warrs, and brought doune to extreame wretchednesse, then they creepe a litle perhaps, and fewe for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered strength againe: so as it is in vaine to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of pollicies, till they be altogether subdued.

Eudox. Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strangbowe, in the time of King Henry the second? was ther not a thorowe way then made by the sword, for the imposing of the lawes upon 500 them? and were they not then executed with such mighty hand as you sayd was used by the Norman Conqueror? What ods is there then in this case? why should not the same lawes take as good effect in that poeple, as they did here, being in like fort prepared by the sword, and brought under by extremity? and why should it not continew in as good force and vigor for the contayning of the poeple?

Iren. The case yet is not like, but ther apperes great odds betwene them; for by the conquest of 510 Henry the second, trew it is that the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no enemy was

able to hould up head againſt his powre : in which there weakenefſe he brought in his lawes, and ſettled them as now they ther remaine, like as William the Conqueror did : ſo as in thus much they agre, but in the reſt, that is in the chiefeſt, they varie : ffor to whom did King Henry the ſecond impoſe thoſe lawes, not to the Iriſh, for the moſt part of them fled from his power into deſerts and moun- 520 taines, leaving the wide country to the conqueror, who in their ſtead eſtſones placed Engliſh men, who poſſeſſed all the land and did quite ſhut out the Iriſh, or the moſt part of them : And to thoſe new inhabitants and Colonies he gave his lawes, to wete, the ſame lawes under which they were born and bred, the which it was not difficulte to place amongeſt them, being formerly well entred ther- unto : unto whom afterward ther repayred divers of the pore diſtreſſed poeple of the Iriſh for ſuccor 530 and reliefe : of whom, ſuch as they thought fit for labor, and / induſtriouſlie diſpoſed, as the moſt part of their baſer ſort are, they received unto them as their vaſſalls, but ſcarcelie vouchefafed to imparte unto them the benefite of thoſe lawes, vnder which them ſelves lived, but everie one made his will a commandment and a lawe unto his owne vaſſall. Thus was not the lawe of England ever properlie applied unto the Iriſh nacon, as by a purpoſe plott of government, but as they could inſynuate and ſteale 540 them ſelves under the ſame by their humble carriage and ſubmiſſion.

Eudox. Howe comes it then to paſſe, that havinge

l. 528, 'inured' : ll. 536-7, 'will and commandment a lawe.'

ben once so lowe brought, and, thoroughlie subjected they afterwards lifted them selves so stronglie agayne, and fithence doe stand stiffie against all rule and government?

Iren. They saie that they contynued in that lowlynesse untill the time that the division betwene the houses of Lancaster and Yorke arose for the Crowne of England: At which tyme all the greate English lords and gentlemen which had greate possessions in Ireland, repaired over hither into England, to succor their ffrendes here and to strengthen their partie for to obtene the Crowne: others to defend there landes and possessions against suche as hovered after the same uppon hope of the alteracon of the kingdome, and successe of that side which they favored and effected. Then the Irishe whom they before had banished into the mountaynes, where they lived onlie uppon white meates, as it is recorded: seeinge nowe there so dispeopled land weakened, came downe into all the playnes adjoyninge, and thence expellinge those fewe Englishe that remayned, repofessefte them agayne; synce whych tyme they have remayned in them, and growinge greater, have brought under them many of the Englishe, which were before their lords. This is one of the occasions by which all those countries which, lyinge nere unto any mountaynes or Irishe deserts, which had bin planted with Englishe, were shortlie dis- planted and lost. As namelie / in Mounfter, all the landes adjoyninge unto Slowlougher, Arlo, and the

l. 550, 'two': l. 552, 'some': l. 556, 'here': l. 558, 'succession': l. 568, 'was.'

bogg of Allon. In Connaght, all the Countries borderinge uppon the Culvers; Montroo, and Orourkes countrie. In Leinster all the landes neighboring unto the mountaynes of Glanmulls, unto Shellelagh, unto the Briskbagh, and Poulmont. In Ulster, all the countries nere unto Tirconnell, Tyronne, and Hertellagh, and the Scottes. 580

Eudox. Surelie this was a greate violence; but yett by your speche it semeth that onlie the Countrie and vallies nere adioyninge unto those mountaynes and desertes, were thus recovered by the Irishe: but howe comes it nowe that wee see almost all that Realme repofessed of them? Was there any more suche evill occasons growinge by the troubles of England? or did the Irishe, out of thes places so by them gotten, breake further and stretche them felves out thorough the whole land? But nowe for ought 590 that I can understand, there is no parte but the bare English pale, in which the Irishe have not the greatest footing.

Iren. Bothe out of theis smale begynnynge by them gotten nere to the mountaynes, did they spreade them selves into the Inland Countrie; and also, to theire further advantage, there did other like unhappie accidentes happen out of England, which gave harte and good opportunitie to them to regayne theire oulde possessions. Ffor in the reigne of 600 Kinge Edward the fourth, thinges remayned yet in the same state that they were after the late breakinge out of the Irishe, which I spake of: And that noble

1. 575, 'Mointerolis': 1. 577, 'Glanmaleerih': 1. 578, 'Briskelagh': 589, 'for.'

Prince began to cast an eye unto Ireland, and to mynde the refermacon of thinges there rune amisse : for he sent over his brother the worthie Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of Larie, and by her havinge all the Erledome of Ulster, and moche in Meathe and in Mounster, verie carefullie went about the redressinge of those late evils : and 610 though he could not beate out the Irishe agayne, by reafon of his shorte contynuaunce, yet he did shutt them upp within those narrowe corners and glennes under the mountayne foote, in which they lurked, and foe kept them from breaking any further, by buildinge strang holdes uppon everie border, and fortifyinge all passages : Amongest the which he built the castle of Clare in Thomond : of which Countrie he had the inheritance, and of Mortymers landes adjoyninge, which is now by the Irishe, 620 called Killalowe. But the tymes of that good Kinge growinge troublefome, did lett the thorowe reformacon of all things. And thereunto soone after was added another fatall mischeife, which wrought a greater calamitie then all the former. For the said Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lief-tenant of Ireland, was by practize of evill persons about the Kinge his brother, called thence awaye : and soone after by synifter meanes was cleane made awaye. Presentlie after whose deathe all the North 630 revoltinge, did sett up Oneale for their Capten, beinge before that of smale power and regard : and there arose in that parte of Thomond, one of the

l. 607, '*Earle of Ulster*' : l. 614, in our MS. '*they lurked . . . further*' has got misplaced.

O-Bryens, called Murrough en ranagh, that is, Morrys of the ffarme, or wafte wylde places : who, gathering unto him all the relickes of the discontented Irishe, eftfones fuprifed the faid Caſtle of Clare, burnt and fpoyled all the Engliſhe there dwellinge, and in ſhort ſpace poſſeſſed all the countrie beyonde the river of Shenan and nere adjoyning : whence ſhortlie 640 breakinge forth like a ſudden tempeſt, he overran all Mounſter and Connaught, breakinge downe all the holdes and fortrefſes of the Engliſhe, defacinge and utterlie ſubvertinge all corporate Townes that were not ſtronglie walled : for thoſe he had no meanes nor engynes to overthrowe, neither indede, would he ſtay at all about them, but ſpeedilie ran forwarde, counting his ſuddennes his moſt vantage, that he might overtake the Engliſhe / before they could fortifie or gather them ſelves together. So 650 in ſhort tyme he cleane wyped out many greate townes, as firſt in Chegin, thẽ Killalowe, before called Clarryfort, afterward Tharles, Mourne, Buttevant, and many others, viz. [blank of nearly a line] whoſe names I can not remember, and of ſome of which there is nowe no memorie nor ſigne remayning. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the ſcume of the Irishe out of all places, that ere longe he had a mightie army, and thence marched forth into Lynſter, where he wrought greate 660 outrages, waſtinge and ſpoylinge all the Countrie where he went : ffor it was his pollicie to leave no holde behinde him, but to make all playne and

1. 635, 'Fearné': 1. 640, 'Shannon': 1. 648, 'accounting': 1. 651, 'ſpace': 1. 652, 'Inſhequinn': 1. 653, 'Thurles.'

waste. In the which he sone after created himselfe Kinge, and was called Kinge of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade, that any did so generallie, but onelie Edwarde lee Bruce.

Eudox. What, was there ever any generall Kinge of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwaies, whilest it was under the Yrishe, 670 devided into fower, and sometymes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this Edward lee Bruce, what was he, that he could make him selfe Kinge of all Ireland?

Iren. I would tell you, that in case you would not challenge me for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfitness which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land.

Eudox. No surelie I have no cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for sithence you did 680 sett your corse, as I remember, in your first parte, to treat of the evils which hindereth the peace and good ordering of that land, amongst which that of the inconvenience of the lawes was the first which you had in hand, this discourse of the overrunninge and wasting of the realme is verie materiall there unto, for that it was the begynnyng of other evils, which sithence / have afflicted that land, and opened a way unto the Irishe to recover their possession, and to beate out the Englishe which had formerlie 690 wonne the same. And besides, it will give greater light both unto the seconde and third parte, which is the redressing of those evils, and plantinge of some good forme or pollicie therin, by renewinge the

l. 666, 'remember': l. 676, 'anone': l. 679, 'occasion': l. 687, 'all.'

remembrance of those occasions and accidentes, by which those ruynes hapned, and layinge before us the enfamples of those tymes, to be compared with ours and to be rewarded by those which shall have to doe in the like. Therefore I praye yow, tell them unto us, and as for the point where you leste, 7 I will not forgett afterwarde to call you backe agayne thereunto.

Iren. This Edward le Bruce, was the brother of King Roberte lee Bruce, who was Kinge of Scotland att such tyme as King Edward the second reigned here in England, and bare a most malicious and spitefull mynde against King Edward, doinge him all the scathe he could, and annoyng his territories of England, whilest he was troubled with civill warres of his Barons att home. He also, to worke him the more 7 mischeife, sent over his said brother Edward, with a power of Scottes and Red-shankes into Ireland, where, by meanes of the Lacies and of the Irishe with whom they combyned, they gott footing, and gathering unto him all the scatterlyn[g]s and outlawes out of all the woodes and mountaynes, in which they longe had lurked, marched forth into the English pale, which then was cheiflie in the North, from the point of Dunluce, and beyonde unto Dublyn: haveinge in the middest of her Knock- 72 fergus; Belfast; Armagh; Carlingsforde, which are now the most out-boundes and abandoned places in the Englishe pale, and some no parte thereof at all: ffor it stretcheth nowe noe further then Dundalke towards the North. There the said Edward lee

l. 698, 'warned': l. 708, 'hurt.'

Bruce spoyled and burnt all the old English pale, puttinge to the sworde all the Englishe inhabitantes, and sacked and raced all Cytties and corporate Townes, no lesse / then Murro en Ranagh, of whom I earst tolde you : ffor hee waisted Belfast, Greene 730 castell, Kiells, Beltalbott, Castletowne, Newtowne, and many other verie good townes and stronge holdes : he rooted out the noble ffamilies of the Audleys, the Talbottes, the Tutchites, the Chamberlynes, the Mandevilles, and the Salvages, though of the Lord Salvage there remayne yet an heire, that is nowe a verie poore gentleman dwellinge at the Ardes. And cominge lastlie to Dundalke, he there made him selfe Kinge and rained by the space of one whole yere, by the name of Edwarde kinge 740 of Ireland, untill that Kinge Edwarde of England, havinge sett some quiett in his affaires at home, sent over the lord John Bermingham to be Generall of the warres against him, who, encountringe him nere to Dundalke, overthrew his armye, and slewe him self, and presentlie followed the victorie so hotlie upon his Scottes, that he suffred them not to staye, or gather them selves together agayne, untill they came to the sea coast. Notwythstandinge, all the waie as they fledd, for verie rancor and dispyght, they 750 utterlie waisted and consumed whatsoever they had before left unspoiled ; so that of all townes and castells, fortes, and bridges and habitacons, he left not any stick standing, nor any people remayninge : for those fewe, which yett survived, fledd fro his

l. 737, '*of verie meane condition*' not in our MS. here : l. 743, '*Bremmeham*' : l. 747, '*breathe*' : l. 753, '*they*.'

furye further into the Englishe pale that nowe is.
 Thus was all that godlie Countrie utterlie waisted and
 left desolate. And as [it] yet remayneth to this
 daie, which before had ben the cheife ornament and
 beautie of Ireland. ffor that parte of the northe 760
 sometyme was as populous and plentifull as any parte
 in England, and yelded unto the kinges of England,
 as yett appeareth by good recordes, thirtie thowfand
 markes of olde money by the peece, beside many
 thowfand of able men to serve them in their warres.
 Suer it is yett a most bewtifull and sweete Country
 as any is under heaven, feamed thoroughout with
 many godlie rivers, replenished with all fortes of fishe
 most abundantlie : sprinkled with verie many sweete
 Ilandes and goodlie lakes, like litle inland seas, that 770
 will carrie even shippes uppon their waters, adorned
 with goodlie woodes, fitt for buildinge of houses and
 shipes, so comodiouslie, as that if some princes in the
 world had them, they would soone hope to be lordes
 of all the seas, and er longe of all the worlde : also
 full of verie good portes and havens openinge uppō
 England [and] Scotland, as invitinge us to come unto
 them, to see what excellent comodities that Countrie
 can afforde, besides the soyle it selfe most fertile, fitt
 to yelde all kynde of fruit that shalbe comitted 780
 there unto. And lastlie the heavens most milde and
 temperate, though somewhat more moyste then the
 partes towards the West.

Eudox. Truly Irenius, what with the prayfes
 of your countrie, and what with the lamentable
 Dvfolucon thereof made by those ragtailes in

1. 764, 'yearre': 1. 786, 'desolation.'

Scotland, you have fylled me with a greate
 compassion of their calamities, that I doe moch
 pittie that sweet land, to be subject to so many
 evils, as everie daie I see more and more throwen 790
 upon her, and doe halfe begynne to thinke, that it
 is, as you said at the begynnyng, her fatall mis-
 fortune, above all countries that I knowe, to be thus
 miserable tossed and turmoiled with their variable
 stormes of afflictions : But synce wee are thus far
 entred into the confideracon of her mishappes, tell me,
 have there ben any more such tempestes, as you
 terme them, wherein she hath thus wretchedlie ben
 wracked ?

Iren. Verie many more, god wot, have there 800
 ben, in which her principall partes have ben torne
 a sunder, but none that I can remember, so
 universall as these. And yet the rebellion of Thomas
 ffitzGarrett did well nighe stretche it self into all
 partes of Ireland. But that, which was in the tyme
 of the governement of the Lord Gray, was surelie no
 lesse generall then all theis ; for there was no part
 free from the contagion, but all conspired in one to
 cast off their subjeccon to the Crowne of England.
 Nevertheles, thorough the most wise and valiant 810
 handlinge of that right noble Lord, yt got not that
 head which the former evils found ; for in them the
 Realme was left, like a shipp in a storme amidst all
 the raginge surges, unrul'd and undirected of any :
 ffor they to whom she was comitted either fainted in
 their labor, or forsooke their charge. But he, like
 a most wise pilott, kept her corse carefullie, and helde

her moſte ſtronglie againſt thoſe roaringe billowes,
that he brought her fafelie out of all; ſo as longe
after, even by the ſpace of xij or xiiij yeres, ſhe rode 820
at peace, thorough his onlie paynes and excellent
endurance, how ever envye liſt to blatter againſt
him. But of this wee ſhall have more occacon to
ſpeake at an other tyme: now (if it pleaſe you) lett
us return agayne unto our firſt corſe.

Eudox. Trulie I am verie glad to heare your judge-
ment of the governement of that honourable man ſo
foundlie; ffor I have heard it oftentymes maligned,
and his doinges depraved of ſome, who, I perceyve,
did rather of malicious mynde, or private greevance, 830
ſeek to detract from the honor of his deedes and
counſells, then of any juſt cauſe: but he was never-
theles, in the judgement of all good and wiſe men,
defended and maynteyned. And nowe that he is
dead, his imortall fame ſurviveth, and florifheth in
the mouthes of all the pœple, that even thoſe which
did backbite him, are choked with their owne
venom, and breake their galls to heare his ſo
honorable report: But lett him reſt in peace, and
turne wee to our more troublous matters of 840
Diſcourſe, of which I am right ſorie that you make
ſo ſhort an end, and covet to paſſe over to your
former purpoſe; for there be many other partes of
Ireland, which I have hearde have ben no leſſe
vexed with the like ſtormes, then theiſ of which you
have treated. As the Countrie of the Byrnes and
Tooles nere Dublyn, with the inſolent outrages and
ſpoyles of ſeagh mã Hugh, the countries of Carlo,

Wexforde, and Waterforde, of the Cavenaghcs:
 The countries of Leix, Kilkennye, and Kildare, of 850
 the Moores. The countries of Offalie, Meath and
 Langford, of the Conhours. The countries of West-
 meath, Cavan, and Louth, of the O Relyes, the
 Kellies, and many others. So as the discourfing
 of them, besides the pleafure which should redound
 out of your historie, be alfo verie proffitable for matter
 of pollicye.

Iren. All thefe which you have named, and many
 more besides, often tymes have I right well knowne,
 to kyndle greatly fyres of tumultuous troubles in 860
 the countries bordering uppon them. All which to
 rehearfe should rather be to Chronicle tymes, then
 to fearche into the reformacon of abufes in that
 Realme: and yet verie nedefull it wilbe to confider
 them, and the evils which they have stirred upp, that
 fome redrefse thereof, and prevencon of the evils to
 come, may thereby rather be devyfed. But I
 fuppofe wee fhall have a fitter oportunity for the
 fame, when wee fhall fpeake of the particler abufes
 and enormities of the goverment, which wilbe next 870
 after thefe generall defectes and inconveniences, which
 I faid were in the lawes, customes, and religion.

Eudox. Goe to them in gods name, and followe
 the courfe which yee have purpofed to your felfe, for
 yt fitteth / beft I muft confefse with the purpose of
 our difcorfe. Declare your opynion, as you begon,
 about the lawes of the Realme, what incommoditie you
 have conceived to be in them, cheifly in the comon

l. 849, 'Kevanaghs': l. 850, 'Leis': l. 860, 'broyles': l. 873,
 'Goe to then a Godes name': l. 874, 'promifed.'

lawe, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

880

Iren. The comon lawe is, as I before said, of it selfe most rightfull and verie convenient, I suppose, for the kingdom for which it was first devized; for this, I thinke, as yt seemes reasonable, that out of the manners of the people, and abufes of the countrie, for which they were invented, they tooke their first begynninge, for else they should be most unjust: for no lawes of man, accordinge to the straight rule of right, are just, but as in regard of the evils which they prevent, and the safetie of the common weale 890 which they provide for. As for example, in the true ballancinge of Justice, it is a flatt wrong to punish the thought or purpose of any, before it be enacted: for true justice punisheth nothinge but the evill acte or wycked worde; yet by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall cryme, to devise or purpose the death of the King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effected, it should be to late to devise of the punishment thereof, and should turne that common-weale to more hurt by suche losse of their 900 Prince, then suche punishment of the malefactors. And therefore the lawe in that case punisheth his thought: for better is a mischeif, then an inconvenience. So that *jus politicum*, though it be not of it selfe just, yet by applicacon, or rather necessitie, it is made just; and this only respect maketh all lawe just. Nowe then, if these lawes of Ireland be not likewise applied and fitted for that Realme, they are sure verie inconvenient.

Eudox. You reason stronglie: but what unfitnes 910

doe you fynde in them for that Realme? shewe us some particulers.

Iren. The common lawe appointeth that all trialls, aswel of crymes as titles and ryghtes, shall be made by verdict of Jurye, chosen out of the honestist and most substancall free-holders: Nowe, all the ffree-holders of that Realme are Irishe, which when the cause shall fall betwene an Irishe man and an Englyshe, or betweene the Quene and any ffree-holder of that countrie, they make no more scruple 920 to passe against the Englysheman, or the Quene, though it bee to strayne their oathes, then to drinke milke unstrayned. So that before the Jury goe together, it is all to nothing what their verdict will be. The tryall thereof have I so often sene, that I dare confidentlie avouche the abuse thereof: Yet is the lawe of it selfe, as I said, good; and the first institucon thereof being given to all Englyshemen verie rightfull, but nowe that the Yrishe have stepped into the rowmes of the Englyshe, who are 930 nowe become so hedefull and provident to keepe them forth from thensforth, that they make no scruple of conscience to passe against them, it is good reason that either that corse of the Lawe for trialls be altered, or other provision for Juries be made.

Eudox. In foothe, Iren: you have discovered a point worth the consideracon; for hereby not onelie the Englyshe subject fyndeth no indifferencie in decidinge of his cause, be it never so just; but also the Quene, aswell in all pleas of the crowne, 940 as also for all inquiries for escheate; landes attainted,

1. 920, 'they' miswritten 'that' in MS.

wardshipps, concealementes, and all suche like, is abused, and exceedingly endamaged.

Iren. You /saie verie true; for I dare undertake, that at this daie there are more attainted landes, concealed from her Majestie, then she hath possessions in all Ireland: and that is no small Inconvenience: for, besides that she looseth so much land as should turne ther to her greates proffitt, she besides looseth so many good subjectes, which might be assured 950 to her, as those landes would yelde inhabitantes and living unto.

Eudox. But does that people, saie you, make no more conscience to perjurer them selves in there verdictes, and to dampne there sowles?

Iren. Not onelie so in there verdictes, but also in all other there dealinges, speciallie with the Englishe, they are most wilfullie bent: for though they will not seme manifestlye to doe it, yet will some one or other subtil headed fellowe amongst 960 them, pick some quirke, or devyse some subtil evasion, whereof the rest will lightlie take holde of, and suffer them selves easilie to be ledd by him to that them selves desired: ffor in the most apparant matter that can be, the least question or dowbt that can be moved, will make stop unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides that, of them selves, they are for the most parte, so cautelous and wylie headed, especiallie beinge men of so small experience and practize in lawe matters, that you 970 would wonder whence they borrowe suche subtilties and flye shifts.

Eudox. But mee thinke, this inconvenience might

be moche helped in the judges and cheif majestrates which have the choosinge and nominatinge of those Jurors, yf they would have care to appoint either most Englishemen, or suche Yrishemen as were of the sowndest disposition; for wee dowbt not but some there bee incorruptible.

Iren. Some there be in dede as you saie; but 980
then woulde the Irishe partie cry out of partialitie, and complayne he hathe not Justice, he is not used as a subject, he is not suffered to have the free benefitt of the lawe: And theis outcrys the majestrates there doe moche shunne, as they have cause, synce they are so reddellie harkened unto here; neither can it indede, although the Irishe partie would be content to be so compassed, that such englishe freeholders, which are but fewe, and suche faithful yrishemen, which are in dede as fewe, shall 990
alwaies be chofen for trialls: ffor beinge so fewe, they shoulde sone be made wearie of their freeholdes. And therefore a good care is to be had by all good occasions to encrease their number, and to plant more by them. But were it so that the Juries could bee picked out of suche choise men as you desire, there would nevertheles be as bad a corrupcon in the triall: ffor the evidence beinge brought in by the base Irishe people, will be as deceiptfull as the verdictes: for they care muche 1000
lesse then the others what they sweare, and sure their lordes may compell them to saie any thing: ffor my self have heard, when one of that base sort, which they call charles, being challenged, and re-

proved for his false oathe, have answered confidentlie, that his lord commaunded him, and that it was the least thinge he could doe for his lord, to sweare for him: so inconfionable are theis comon people, and so litle feeling have they of god, or theire owne sowles good.

1010

Eudox. It is a most miserable case: but what helpe can there be in this? ffor though the manner of the triall shoulde be altered, yet the prooffe of every thinge, must nedes be by testimonies of such persons as the parties shall produce: which if they shall corrupt, hower can there any light of truthe appeare? what remedy is there for this evill, but to make heavie lawes and penalties against jurors?

Iren. I thinke sure that will doe smale good; ffor when a people are inclyned to any vice, or have no towche of conscience, nor fence of theire evill doinge, yt is booteles to thinke to restrayne them by any penalties or feare of punishment; but either the occacon is to be taken awaie, or a more understandinge of the right, or shame of the fault is to be imprinted: For if Lycurgus should have made it deathe for the Lacedemonians to steale, they beinge a people which naturallie delighted in stealth, or if it shoulde be made a capitall cryme for the Flemminges to be taken in drunkennes, there should have been fewe Lacedemonians soone left, and fewer Flemminges: so unpossibile it is to remove any fault so generall in a people, with terror of lawes or more sharpe restraints.

1030

Eudox. What meanes may there be then to

l. 1033, 'most.'

avoides this inconvenience? for the cause sure femes verie harde.

Iren. Wee are not yet come to that point to devyfe remedies for the evils, but onlie have nowe to recompt them; of the which, this that I have 1040 tolde you is one defect in the comon Lawe.

Eudox. Tell us then, I praie you further, have you any more of this sortè in the comon Lawe?

Iren. By reherfall of this, I remember also of an other like, which I have often observed in trialls to have wrought greate hurt and hinderance, and that is, the excepcons which the comon Lawe alloweth a fellow in his triall: ffor he may have, as you knowe, xxxvj excepcons peremptorye against the Jurors, of which he shall shewe no cause, and as many 1050 as he will of fuche, as he can shew cause. By which shifte there beinge, as I have shewed you fuche smale store of honest Jurie men, he will either put of his triall, or drive it to fuche men as perhapps are not of the fowndest forte, by whose meanes, yf he can acquite him self of the cryme, as he is likelie, then will he plage fuche as were brought first to be of his jury, and all fuche as made any partie against him, and when he comes forth, will make their cowes and garrons to walke, yf he doe not other mischeif 1060 to their persons.

Eudox. This is a flye device, but I thinke might sone bee remedied: but wee must leave it a while with the rest: in the meane tyme doe you goe forward with others.

Iren. There is an other no lesse inconvenient then

this, which is for the triall of accessaries to felony :
 for, by the common Lawe, the accessarie can not be
 proceeded against till the principall have receyved
 his triall. Nowe the case often falleth in Ireland, 1070
 that a stealth beinge made by a rebell, or an outlawe,
 the stolen goodes are conveyed to some husband-
 man or gente, which hath well to take to, and yet
 liveth most by the receipt of suche stealthes, where
 they are found by the owner, and handled : where-
 uppon the partie perhapps is apprehended and
 committed to gaole, or putt uppon suerties, till the
 Sessions, at which the owner, preferring a bill of
 Indictment, proveth sufficiently the stealth to have
 ben committed vppon him by suche an outlawe, and 1080
 to have ben found in the possession of the prisoner,
 against whom, nevertheles, no cause of Lawe can
 proceede, nor triall can be had, for that the principall
 theife is not to be gotten, notwithstandinge that he
 likewise, standeth perhapps indicted at once with the
 receyver, beinge in rebellion, or in the woodes, where
 peradventure he is slayne before hee is taken, and so
 the receivor cleane acquitted and discharged of the
 cryme. By which meanes the theeves are greatlie
 encouraged to steale, and their mainteyners imboldned 1090
 to receive their stealthes, knowing howe hardlie they
 can be brought to any triall of lawe.

Eudox. Trulie this is a greate inconvenience, and
 a greate cause, as you saie, of the maintenance of
 theeves, knowinge their receivors alwaies readie ;
 for, would there be no receivors, there woulde be no

l. 1070, 'falleth out': l. 1073, 'gentleman': l. 1074, 'goodes
 stolen': l. 1082, 'courte': l. 1087, 'flowne.'

theeves. But this, me femes, might easelie be provided for by some act of Parliament, that the receivor, beinge convicted by good proofes, might receive his triall without the Principall.

1100

Iren. You saie verie true, Eudox: but that is almost impossible to be compassed. And herein also you discover an other imperfeccon in the course of the common Lawe, and first ordynance of the Realme; for you knowe that the said Parliament must consist of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgeses of that Realme it self. Nowe theis beinge perhappes them selves, or the most parte of them (as maye seeme by their stif with-standinge of this act) culpable of this cryme, or favorers of their friendes, which are suche by whom their kitchins are sometymes amended, will not suffer any suche statute to passe. Yet hath it oftentimes ben attempted, and in the tyme of Sir John Perrott verie earnestlie, I remember, labored, but by no meanes could be effected: And not onelie this, but many other like, which are as nedefull for the reformacon of that Realme.

1110

Eudox. This also is surelie a great defect, but wee maye not talke, you saie, of the redressing of this, untill our seconde parte come, which is purposelye appointed thereunto. Therefore procede to the recountinge of moe suche evilles, yf at leaste you have any more.

1120

Iren. There is also a greate inconvenience which hath wrought greate dammadge both to her Majestie, and to that Common wealth, through close and collorable conveyances of the landes and goodes of Traytors, fellows, and fugitives: as, when one of

them myndeth to goe into rebellyon, he will convey away all his landes and Lordships to feoffes in trust, 1130 wherby he reserveth to himselfe but a state for terme of lief, which beinge determined either by the sword or by the haulter, their Lande streight cometh to the heire, and the queene is defrauded of the intent of the Lawe, which layed that grivous punishment upon Traytors to forfeite all their landes to the Prince, to the ende that men might be the rather terrefied from comyttinge treafons: ffor many which would little esteeme their owne lyves, yet for remorse of their wyves and children, shoulde bee withhelde 1140 from that hayneous cryme. This appeared playnelie in the late Earle of Desmond; ffor before his breakinge forth into open rebellyon, he had conveyed secretelie all his landes to feoffes of trust, in hope to have cutt of her Majestie from the escheate of his landes.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well ynoughe avoyded; ffor the acte of Parliament which gave all his landes to the queene did, (as I have hearde,) cutt of and frustrate all suche conveyances, as had any tyme, 1150 by the space of xii yeres before his rebellyon, bene made: within the Compasse whereof, that fraudulent feoffement, and many other the like of his accomplices and fellow-Traytors, were containyd.

Iren. Very true, but howe hardlie that acte of Parliament was wrounge out of them, I cann wytnes: and were yt to be compassed againe, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were yt foe

l. 1132, 'estate': l. 1154, 'attaynted' [for 'contayned'] 'hath bene made voyd': ll. 1157-8, 'I dare . . . compassed' not in our MS.

that such actes might easilie be brought to passe
 against Traytors and fellons, yet were yt not an 1160
 endles trouble, that no Traytor nor felon should
 be attaynted, but a Parliament must be called
 for bringinge his landes to the queene, which the
 Common Lawe geveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no faulte of the Comon Lawe,
 but of the persons which worke this fraude to her
 Majestie.

Iren. Yes mary, for the Common Lawe hath left
 them this benefitt, whereof they make advantage, and
 wrest yt to theire bad purposes. Soe as they are 1170
 thereby the bolder to enter into evill accons, knowinge
 that yf the worste befall them, they shall loofe
 nothinge but themselves, whereof they seeme surely
 verye careles, like as all barbarous people, as Cæsar
 in his Commentaries sayth, are very fearles of death.

Eudox. But what meane you of fugitives herein?
 or how doth this concerne them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly: for yee shall understand
 that there be many ill disposed and undutyfull persons
 of that Realme, like as in this pointe there are also in 1180
 the Realme of England, too many, which beinge men
 of good inheritance, are for the dislike of religion, or
 danger of the law into which they are run, or discontent
 of the present government, fled beyond the seas, where
 they lyve under Princes, that are her Majesties pro-
 fessed Enemies, and converse and are confederate with
 other Traytors and fugitives which are there abidinge.
 The which nevertheles have the benefitt and profittes

ll. 1174-5, 'as Cæsar . . . sayth' not in our MS. : ll. 1182-4, 'dislike
 . . . of the' (2nd) not in MS.

of their landes here, by pretence of fuche cullorable conveyances thereof, formerlie made by them to 1190
theire pryvie frendes here in trust, whoe secretly fende over unto them the faide revenewes, wherwith they are there mayntayned and enabled against her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there bee any such fugitives which are releived by the profit of theire lands in England: ffor there is a straighter order taken. And yf there bee any such in Ireland, yt were good yt were likewise looked unto: for this evill may easelie be remedied: but proceede. 1200

Iren. Yt is also inconvenient in the Realme of Ireland, that the wardes and marriadges of gentlemens Children should be in the disposicon of any of these Irish Lords, as nowe they are, by reason that theire landes are helde by knightes service of those Lords, as now they are. By which meanes yt cometh to passe, that those said gentlemens children, beinge thus in the warde of those Lords, are not only thereby brought up lewdlie, and Irishe like, but also for ever after soe bounden to theire services, 1210
as that they will runne with them into any disloyall accon.

Eudox. This grevance, Irenæus, is also complained of in England, but how can yt bee remedied? since the service must followe the tenure of the landes, and the landes were geven away by the Kinges of England to those Lords, when they first conquered that Realme: and to say the truth, this also woulde be some prejudice to the Prince in her Wardship.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes warde, 1220

but by fuche as fall into the handes of the Irish Lordes : for I could wishe and this I woulde enforce, that all those wardships were in the Princes disposicon ; for then yt might be hooped, that she, for the univerfall reformacon of that realme, woulde take better order for the bringinge up of those wardships in good nourture, and not suffer them to come into so bad handes. And though these thinges bee alreadie passed awaye by her progenitors former graunts unto those said Lords, yet I coulde finde a way to remedie a greate parte thereof, as hereafter, when fytt tyme serveth, shall appeare. And since wee are entred into speache of such grauntes of former princes to sondrie persons of that Realme of Ireland, I will mencon unto you some other, of like nature to this, and of like inconvenyence, by which the Kinges of England passed unto them a greate parte of their prerogatyves ; which though then yt were well intended, and perhappes well deserued of them which received the same, yet nowe such a gapp of mischeife lyeth open thereby, that I could wishe it weare stopped. Of this sorte are the grauntes of the Countyes Palletynes in Ireland, which though at first were graunted upon good consideracon when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wylde Irishe, subject to contynewall invasion, soe as yt was needefull to geve them greate pryviledges to the defence of the inhabitantes thereof ; yet nowe that it is noe more a border but frontyerd with enemyes, whie should such priviledges be any more contynewed ?

L 1242, '*well stopped*' : L 1247, '*is*,' in our MS.

Endox. I would gladlie knowe what you call a county Pallentyne, and whence yt is foe called.

Iren. Yt was as I suppose first named Pallatyne of a Pale, as yt were of a pale and defence to their innere landes, foe as now yt is called the English Pale, and thereof allso is a Palsgrave named, that is an Earle Palentyne. Others thincke of the Latyne, Palare, that is, to foraigne or outrune, because that marchers and borderers use comonly foe to doe. 12
Soe as to have a County Pallentyne is in effecte but to have a priviledge to spoile the Enemys borders adjoyninge. And surely foe yt is used at this day, as a priviledged place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Typperarie, which is now the only county Pallentyne in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Countreyes about yt. By meanes of whose priviledges none will follow their stealthes, foe as yt, beinge scytuate in the very Topp of all the land, is made 127
nowe a border, which how inconvenyent yt is, let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the lord of that libertye, doe payne himselfe all that he may to yeilde equall Justice unto all, yet cann there not but greate abuses lurke in foe inward and absolute a priviledginge, consideration whereof is to be respected carefully, for the next succeffion. And much like unto this graunte there are also other priviledges graunted unto most of the Corporacons there; that they shal not be bounde to 1280
any other government then their owne, that they shall not be charged with any garrisons, that they

l. 1272, 'lap': l. 1273, 'endeavour.'

shall not be be travaelled forth of their owne franchises, that they may buye and sell with theves and Rebelles, that all amercemêts and fynes which shalbe ymposed upon them shall come unto themselves. All which, though att the tyme of their first graunte they were tollerable, and perhapes reasonable, yet nowe are most unreasonable and inconvenyent. But all these will easilie be cutt of with the superior power 1290 of her Majeftys prerogatyve, against which her owne grauntes are not to be pleaded nor enforced.

Endox. Nowe truelie, Irenius, yee have meseemes, very well handled this pointe touchinge inconvenyences in the Common Lawe there, by you observed; and yt seemeth that you have had a myndefull regard unto the thinges that may concerne the good of that Realme. And yf you cann aswell goe through with the Statute Lawes of that lande, I will thincke you have not lost all your tyme there. 1300 Therefore, I praye you, nowe take them to you in hande and tell us what you thincke to bee amisse in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that realme are not manie, and therefore wee shall the sooner rune through them. And yet of those fewe there are sondrie impertinent and unnecessarie: the which perhappes though at the tyme of the makinge of them were very needefull, yet nowe through chainge of tyme are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that 1310 which forbiddeth any to weare their beardes all on their upper lip, and none under the chynne, and that which putteth away saffron shirts and smockes,

1. 1310, 'idle' not in MS.

and that which restrayneth the usinge of guylte bridles and pettronells, and that which appointed to the recorders and Clarkes of Dubline and Drodagh [= Drogheda], to take but ijd. for the Coppie of a playnte, and that which commaundeth bowes and arrowes, and that which maketh that all Irishmene that shall conuerse amonge the Englishe shalbe taken for spies, and soe punished, and that which forbiddeth persons amenable to lawe to enter and distrayne in the lands in the which they have tittle; and many other the like which I could rehearse.

Eudor. These, trulie, which you have repeated, seeme very fryvolous and fruitles; for by the breach of them little dammage or inconvenience cann come to the Common-Wealthe, nether, indeede, yf any transgresse them, shall he seeme worthie of punishment, scare of blame, savinge be that they abide by the names of lawes. But lawes ought to be suche, as that the keepinge of them should be greatlie for the behoofe of the Common-Wealth, and the violatinge of them should be very haynous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weightie dislikes in the Statutes then these, and that may more behouefull importe the reformacon of them.

Iren. There is one or twoe statutes which make the wrongfull destrayninge of any mans goods against the forme of Common Lawe to be felony. The which statutes seeme surelie to have benn at firste meant for the greate good of that Realme, and for restrayninge of a fowle abuse, which then raigned commonly amongst that people, and yet is not

1. 1330, 'saving for that they beare the name of lawes' not in our MS.

altogether layed aside; that when any one was indebted to another, he would first demaunde his debt, and, yf he were not paied, he would streight goe and take a distres of his goods or Cattell, where he could finde them, to the value: which he would keepe tyll he were fatisfied, and this the simple 1350 Churle (as they call him) doth comonly use to doe yet, thorough ignorance of his misdoing, or evill use that hath longe settled amongest them. But this, though it be sure most unlawfull, yet surely me seemes to hard to make it death, since there is no purpose in the partie to steale the others goods, or to conceale the distres, but doth yt openly, for the most parte before witnesses. And againe, the same statutes are soe slackelie pende, besides that latter of them is so vnsefiblye contrived that yt 1360 scarce carieth any reason in yt, that they are often and very easily wrested to the fraude of the subiecte; as yf one goinge to distrayne upon his land or Tenemente, where lawfully he may, yet yf in doinge thereof he transgres the leaste point of the Common Lawe, he streightlie comitteth felonie. Or if one by any other occasion take any thing from another, as boyes use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight felony. This is a very harde lawe.

Eudox. Nevertheles the evill use of distrayninge 1370 another mans goods, you will not deny but is to be abolished and taken awaye.

Iren. Yt is soe, but not by takinge awaye the subiecte withall; for that is to violent a medycine,

L. 1348, '*and chattels*': ll. 1366-9, '*Or . . . felony*' not in our MS.

specialle this use beinge permitted, and made lawfull to some, and to other some, death. As to most of the Corporate Townes there, it is graunted by their charter, that they may, every man by himselfe, without an officer (for that were more tollerable) for any debt, to distrayne the goods of any Irishe, 1 beinge founde within their liberty, or but passinge through their Townes. And the first permissyon of this was for that in those tymes when that graunt was made, the Irishe were not amesnabable to lawe, foe as yt was not saiftie for the Townesman to goe to him forth to demaund his debt, nor possible drawe him into lawe, foe that he had leve to be his owne bayliffe, to arrest his saide debtors goods within his owne franchise. The which the Irish feinge, thought yt as lawfull for them to distrayne 13 the Townesmans goods in the countrey where they founde yt. And foe [by] ensample of that graunt to Townes-men, they thought yt lawfull, and made yt an use to distrayne one anothers goods for smale debtes. And to say truth, me thinkes yt hard for every tryflyng debt of 2 or 3s. to be dryven to lawe, which is foe farre from them sometymes to be fought; for which me thinkes yt were an heavy ordinance to geve death, especyally to a rude man that is ignorant of Lawe, and thinketh a common use 14 or graunt to other men a lawe for himselfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the Judge, when it commeth before him to tryall, may easilie deside this doubt, and lay open the intent of the lawe by his better discrecon.

l. 1398, 'methinkes it an.'

Iren. Yea, but yt is daingerous to leave the sence of a lawe unto the reason or will of Judges, whoe are men and may bee miscaryed by affecons, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to be like to stony tables, playne, stedfast, and ymmoveable. 1410 There is also suche another statute or twoe, which make Coigne or lyverye to bee treason, no lesse inconvenient then the former, beinge, as yt is penned, howe ever the first purpose thereof were expedient; for thereby nowe noe man cann goe into anothers howse for Lodginge, nor to his owne Tenants howse to take victuall by the waye, notwithstandinge that there is no other meanes for him to have lodgings or horse meate, nor mans meate, there beinge noe Innes, nor none otherwife to bee bought for money, 1420 but that he is indaingered to that Statute of Treason, whensoever he shall happen to falle out with his Tennant, or that his said hoste list to complaine of grevance, as oftentymes I have seene them very malishioullie doe thorowe the least provocation.

Eudox. I doe not well knowe, but by gesse, what ye doe meane by these termes of Coigne and Lyvery: therefore I praye you explaine them.

Iren. I knowe not whether the wordes be Englishe or Irishe, but I suppose them rather to be auntyent 1430 Englishe, for the Irishemen cann make no derivacon or analogie of them. What lyverie is, wee by Common use doe knowe well enough, that it is allowance of horsemeate, as commonly they use the word in stabline, as to keepe horses at lyverye; the which worde, as I gesse, is deryved of lyveringe or

l. 1407, 'a judge' in our MS. : l. 1421, 'endammaged.'

delyveringe forth theire nightlie foode. Soe in greate howfes, the lyvery is saide to be served up for all night, that is theire eveninges allowance of drinke. And lyvery is allso called the proper 1440 garment which a serving man weareth, soe called, as I suppose, for that yt was delyvered or taken from him at pleasure: So yt is apparant, that by the worde Lyverie is there meante horsemeate, like as by the word Coigny is understood mans meate: But whence the worde is deryved is very hard to tell. Some say of coyne, for that they vsed Comoditye in theire Coignes, not only to take meate, but coyne allso; and that that takinge of money was specyally meante to be 1450 prohibited by that statute: But I thinke rather this word Coignye is deryved of the Irishe. The which is a comon use amongest the cheife landelords, to have a comon spendinge upon theire Tennants; for all theire tennants, beinge comonly but tennants att will, they use to take of them what victuall they list, ffor of victualls they were wounte to make smale reconinge: neither in this was the Tennante wronged, for yt was an ordinarie and knowen custome, and his lord comonly used soe to covenante with him, 1460 which yf at any tyme the tennante disliked, he might frelie departe at his pleasure. But nowe by this statute the Irishe lord is wronged, for that he is cutt of from his customary services, of the which this was one, besides many other of the like, as Cuddie, Coffherie, Bonnagh, Shragh, Sorehin, and such others; the which I thinke at first were customes

brought in by the Englishe upon the Irishe, the which were never wonte, and yet are loath to yeilde any certen rent, but onlye such spendinges: 1470
for their comon sayinge is, Spende me and defende me.

Eudox. Surelie I take yt as you faye, that therein the Irishe Lord hath wronge, since yt was an auntyent custome, and nothinge contrarie to lawe, for to the willinge there is no wronge done: And this right well I wott, that, even here in England, there are in many places as strange Customes as that of Coygnie and lyverye. But I suppose by your speache, that yt was the first meaninge of the State 1480
to forbid the violent takinge of victualls upon other mens Tenants against their willes, which surelie is a greate outrage, and yet not soe greate me seemes, as that yt shoulde be made Treason: for confideringe that the nature of Treason is concerninge the royall estate or person of the prince, or practizinge wyth his enimies, to the derogacon and dainger of his crowne and dignitie, yt is hardlie wrested to make this treason. But as you erst said, Better a mischeife then an inconvenience. 1490

Iren. Another statute I remember, which havinge been an auntyent Irishe custome is nowe upon advifement made an Englishe lawe, and that is called the Custome of Kincoughish, which is, that every heade of every sept and every cheife of every kindred or familie, should be required answerable and

l. 1478, '*large*': l. 1485, '*concerning the realme*': ll. 1491-2, reversed in Dr. Morris's text '*Englishe*' and '*Irish*': ll. 1496, '*answerable . . . crime*' not in MS.

bound to bring forth every one of that sept and kindred under it at all times to be justified, when he should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime.

Eudox. Whie, surely this seemes a very necessary lawe. For confidering that many of them bee such losells and scatterlinges, as that they cannot easily by any sheriffe, Constable, Bayliffe, or other ordinary officer be gotten, when they are challenged for any such facte; this is a very good meanes to gett them to be brought in by him that is the heade of the septe or cheife of that howse: wherfore I wonder what deepe excepcon ye cann make against the same.

Iren. True, Eudox., in the pretence of the good of this statute, yee have nothinge erred, for yt seemeth very expedient and necessarie: But the hurte which cometh thereby is greater then the good. For, whilest every cheife of a septe standeth foe bounde to the lawe for every man that is of his bloud or sept that is under him inclusive, every one of his sept is put under him and he is made greate by the commaundinge of them all. For yf he may not commaund them, then that lawe doth wronge that bindeth him to bringe them forth to bee justified: and yf he may commaund them, then he may commaund them aswell to yll as to good. Hereby the lords and captaines of the countries, the principalls and heades of septs, are made stronger, whome yt shoulde be a most specyall care in pollycie to weaken, and to sett up, and strengthen divers of his underlines against

1. 1506, 'meane': l. 1509, 'just.'

him, which whensoever he shall offer to swarve from dutye, may be able to bearde him ; for it is very daingerous to leave the commaund of foe many as 1530 some septes are, beinge v or vi thowfande persons, to the will of one man, whoe may leade them to what he will, as he himselfe shall be inclyned.

Eudox. In very deede, Irenius, yt is very daingerous, especially feinge the disposicon of those people not allwayes inclynable to the best. And therefore I holde yt noe wisedome to leave unto them, to much commaund over their kindred, but rather to withdrawe their followers from them asmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of lawe by 1560 some better meane then this custome of Kincoughish. The which word I woulde bee glad to knowe what yt namely signifieth, for the meaninge thereof I seeme to understand reasonable well.

Iren. It is a worde mingled of Englishe and Irish together, so as I am partlye led to thinke, that the custome thereof was first Englishe and afterwarde Irishe ; for suche an other lawe they had here in Englande, as I remember, made by Kinge Alured, that every gentleman should continually 1570 bringe forth his kindred and followers to the lawe. So Kin is Englishe and Coughish signifieth affinitie in Irishe.

Eudox. Sithe then that wee have thus reasonable handled the inconveniences in the lawes, lett us nowe passe unto your second parte, which was, as I remember, of the abuses of Customes ; in which, me seemes, yee have a fayre champion laied open unto you, in which yee may at large stretch out your

discourse into many sweete remembrances of Anti- 1580
quities, from whence yt seemeth that the customes
of that natyon proceede.

Iren. Indeede, Eudox: you say very true; for
all the customes of the Irishe which I have very
often noted and compared with that I have red,
would mynister occasion of most ample discourse of
the first originall of them, and the antiquitie of that
people, which in truth I doe thinke to bee more
auncyent then most that I know in this ende of the
worlde; so as yf yt were in the handlinge of some 1590
man of sound judgement and plentifull readinge, it
woulde bee most pleafant and profitable. But yt
may bee wee may, at some other time of meetinge,
take occasion to treate thereof more at large. Here
only yt shall suffice to touch such Customes of the
Irish as seeme offensive and repugnant to the good
government of that Realme.

Eudox. Followe then your owne corse, for I shall
the better content my selfe to forbear my desire
nowe, in hope that you will, as you say, some other 1600
time more abundantly satisfie yt.

Iren. Before wee enter into the treatise of their
Customes, yt is first needfull to consider from whence
they sprong; for from the fundrie mannors of the
nations, from whence that people which nowe are
called Irishe were derived, some of the customes
which nowe remayne amongst them have benn
fetcht, and since they have benn contynwed amongst
them; for not of one nacyon was that people as yt
is, but of sondrie people of different condicions and 1610

L 1600, 'some . . . time' not in our MS.

manners: But the cheif which have first possessed, and inhabited yt, I suppose to be Scythians.

Eudox. How commeth it then to passe, that the Irish doe derive themselves from Gathelus the Spaniard?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any such notable transmigration of a colony hether out of Spaine, or any such famous conquest of this kingdom by Gathelus, a Spaniard, as they would faine 1520 believe, it is not unlikely, but the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in so high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing, as the subduing of so noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conquest of the Indians, especially in those times, in which the same was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Irish doe heerein no otherwise, then our vaine 1630 English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine. But surely the Scythians (of whom I earst spoke) which at such tyme as the Northerne Nations overflowed

1 1612, '*Scythians*'—in Collier and Dr. Morris and other texts there follows here the paragraph commencing '*Scythians, which. . . Scotland*'. This in our MS. comes in further on, in next page. On the other hand, the paragraph '*Eudox. How . . . spoke*,' on same page (ll. 1613-36), is not in Dr. Morris, but in Collier, etc., etc., and accepted by us.

all Christendome, came downe to the Sea coſte, where enquireing for other countryes abroad, and gettunge intelligence of this Countrey of Irelande, findinge shippinge convenient, paſſed over thither, and arived in the North parte thereof, which is now called Ulſter, which firſt inhabiting, and afterwarde ſtretchinge themſelves forth into the Ilande as their numbers encreaſed, named yt all of themſelves Scuttenlande, which more breiflie is called Scutland, of Scotland.

Eudox. I wonder, Irenius, whether you runne ſo farre aſtraye; for whilſt wee talke of Ireland, me thinks you rippe up the originall of Scotland; but what is that to this?

Iren. Surelie very much, for Scotland and Ireland are one and the ſame.

Eudox. That ſeemeth more ſtrange; for wee all knowe right well that they are diſtinguiſhed, with a greate ſea runninge betweene them; or elſe there are twoe Scotlands.

Iren. Never the more are there twoe Scotlands, but twoe kindes of Scotts there were indeede, as you may gather out of Buchanan, the one Irine or Iriſhe Scotts, the other Albyne Scotts; for thoſe Scotts or Scythians arrived, as I ſuppoſed, in the North parts of the Iſland, where ſome of them afterwards paſſed into the next coaſte of Albyne, nowe called Scotland, which, after much trouble, they poſſeſſed, and of themſelves named yt Scotland; but in proceſſ of tyme, as is commonly ſeene, the denomination of the part prevailed in the whole, for the Iriſhe Scotts puttinge away the name of Scotts, were called only Iriſhe, and the Albyn Scotts, leavinge the name

of Albyne, were called only Scotts. Therefore yt 1670 cometh of some wryters, that Ireland is called Scotia-major, and that which nowe is named Scotland, is called Scotia-minor.

Eudox. I doe nowe well underftande your diftinguifhing of the twoe fortes of Scotts, and twoe Scottlands, howe that this which is nowe called Irelande was auncyently called Erine, and afterwarde of fome wrytten Scotland, and that which is nowe called Scotland was formerlie called Albyn, before the cominge of the Scutts thither: But what 1680 other Nations inhabited thother partes of Irelande?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North, or before, (for the certentie of tymes in thinges foe farre from all knowledge cannot bee juftlie avowched) another nation cominge out of Spaine aryved in the Weft parte of Irelande, and findinge it wafte, or weakelie inhabited, poffeffed yt: who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Affricans, or Goathes, or fome of thofe Northerne Nations which did over-fpred all Chriftendome, it is impoffible to 1690 affirme, onlie fome naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of Spaine certenlie they came, that doe all the Iriſhe Cronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe verie boldlie, Irenius, venture upon the histories of auncyent tymes, and leane too confidently unto thofe Iriſhe Cronicles which are moſte fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hande to laye open the Originall of a nation foe antique, as that noe monument remaynes of her begynninge and inhabitinge there; ſpecially 1700

l. 1700, 'and firſt inhabiting.'

having bene allwayes without letters, but only bare tradicons of tymes and remembrances of bardes, which use to forge and falesifye every thinge as they liste to please or displease any man.

Iren. Trulie I must confesse I doe foe, but yet not foe absolutelie as yee suppose. But I doe herein relye upon those bardes or Irishe Cronicles, though the Irishe themselves, through their ignorance in matters of learninge and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleve and avouch them. But unto them 1710 besides I adde my owne readinge; and out of them both togeather, with comparison of tymes, likenes of manners and customes, affinitie of words and names, properties of natures and uses, resemblances of rights and ceremonies, monuments of Churches and Tombes, and many other like circumstances, I doe gather a likelyhood of truth; not certainly affirminge any thinge, but by conferringe of tymes, language, monuments, and such like, I doe hunte out a probabilitie of thinges, which I leave unto your judgement to 1720 beleve or refuse. Nevertheles there bee some very aunycient authors which make mencyon of those thinges, and some moderne, which by comparinge of them with the present tymes, experience, and their owne reason, doe open a wyndow of greate light unto the rest, that is yet unsene; as namely, of the oulder, Cefar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomie, Plinie, Pompeus Mela, and Berofus: of the latter, Vincen- tius, Æneas Silvius, Ludus, Buckhanan, for that he himselfe, beinge an Irishe Scott or Picte by nacon, 1730 and beinge very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of these thinges concerninge

the originall of his owne people, hath both sett downe the testimonies of the auntyents truly, and his owne opinion withall very reasonablie, though in some thinges he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bardes and Irishe Croniclers themselves, though through desier of pleasinge perhappes to much, and ignorance of arte and pure learninge, they have concluded the truth of those tymes; 1740 yet there appeareth amongst them some Reliques of the true antiquitie; though disguised, which a well eyed man may happilie discover and finde out.

Eudox. How cann there bee any truth in them at all, since the auntyent nations which first inhabited Ireland were altogether destitute of letters, much more of learninge, by which they might leave the veritie of thinges wrytten. And those bardes cominge alsoe for many hundred yeres after, could 1750 not knowe what was done in former ages, nor delyver certenty of any thinge, but what they feyned out of theire unlearned heades.

Iren. Those bardes indeede, Cesar wryteth, delyver noe certen truth of any thinge, nether is there any certen holde to be taken of any antiquitie which is receaved by tradicon, since all men bee lyers, and many lye when they will; but yet for auntyentnes of the wrytten Cronicles of Ireland, geve me leave to saye somethinge, not to justifie them, but to shewe 1760 that some of them might say truth. For where yee say that the Irish have allwayes benn without letters, yee are therein much deceived, for yt is

certen, that Ireland hath had the use of letters very auncientlie, and longe before England.

Eudox. Is yt possible? how comes yt then that they are so barbarous still, and soe unlearned, beinge soe olde scollers? For learninge as the Poett faith, "Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros:" whence then I pray you could they have those letters? 1770

Iren. It is harde to saye: for whether they at their first cominge into the lande, or afterwarde by tradinge with other Nations which had letters, learned them of them, or devised them amongst themselves, yt is nothing doubtfull; for the Saxons of Englande are saide to have their letters, and Learninge, and learned men, from the Irishe, and that also appeareth by the likenes of the Carrafter, for the Saxons carrafter is the same with the Irishe. Nowe the Scythians never, as I cann reade, of oulde had letters amongst them: therefore yt seemeth that they had them from the nacyon which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo wryteth) letters auncyently used, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Perfians, which (as yt appeareth by him) had some footinge there, or from Marfeles, which is saide to have bene inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke carrafter; of the which Marfilianns yt is said, that the Gaules learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their trades and private bufiness: for the Gaules (as is stronglie to be proved by many auncyent and athenticall wryters) did first 1780 1790

1. 1776, 'but that they had letters aunciently is nothing doubtfull' after 'doubtfull' in Dr. Morris, Collier, etc., but not in our MS.

inhabite all the fea coſte of Spaine, even unto Cales and the mouth of the Streights, and peopled alſo a greate parte of Italie, which appeareth by fundrie Citties and havens in Spaine called of them, as Portingalia, Gallecia, Galdunum; and alſo by fundrie nacons therin dwellinge, which yet have refeaved their owne names of the Gaules, as the Rhegnie, 1800 Prefamarie, Tamariti, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pompeius Mela, beinge himſelfe a Spaniarde, yet ſaith to have deſcended from the Celtics of Fraunce, whereby yt is to be gathered, that that nacon which came out of Spaine into Ireland were auntyentlie Gaules, and that they brought with them thoſe letters which they had learned in Spaine, firſt into Ireland, the which ſome alſo ſaye doe muche reſemble the olde Phenicon carrafter, beinge likewiſe diſtinguiſhed with pricke and accent, as theirs 1810 auntyentlie; but the further enquirie thereof needeth a place of longer diſcourſe then this our ſhorte conference.

Eudox. Surelie you haue ſhowed a greate probabilitie of that which I had thought impoſſible to have benn proved; but that which you nowe ſaye, that Ireland ſhoulde have benn peopled with the Gaules, ſeemeth much more ſtrainge, for all their Cronicles doe ſay, that the weſt and ſouth was poſſeſſed and inhabited of Spaniards: and Cornelius 1820 Tacitus doth alſo ſtronglie affirme the ſame, all which you muſt either overthrowe and falſefye, or renounce your opinion.

Iren. Nether ſo, nor ſoe; for the Iriſh Cronicles, as

I faid unto you, beinge made by unlearned men, and wrytinge thinges accordinge to the apparance of the truth which they conceyved, doe erre in the circumstances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they beinge no dilligent searchers into the differences of the Nacyons) supposd to be Spaniards, 1830 and so called them; but the groundworke thereof is nevertheles (as I faide) true and certen, however, they through their ignorance disguise the same, or through their owne vanitie whilst they woulde not seeme to bee ignorant, doe thereupon buylde and enlarge many forged histories of their owne antiquitie, which they delyver to fooles, and make them beleve them for true: as for example, that first of all one Gathelus the sonne of Cecropes or Argos, who havinge married the Kinge of Egyps his daughter, thence 1840 sayled with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his fower sonnes, whoe cominge out of Scythia peopled Ireland, and inhabited yt with his 2 sonnes twoe hundred and ffyfty yeares, till he was overcome of the Gyants dwellinge then in Irelande, and at the last quite banished and rooted out. After whome twoe hundred yeres, the sonnes of one Dela, beinge Scythians, arryved there againe, and possessed the whole lande, of the which the youngest, called Slaynius, in the ende made himselfe 1850 Monarch. Laftlie, of the iiij sonnes of Milefius Kinge of Spaine, which conquered the lande from the Scythians, and inhabitinge yt with Spaniards, called yt of the youngest Heberous, Hibernia: all which are in truth mere fables, and very Melesian

1. 1850, '*Slevius*': 1. 1854, '*of the name of the.*'

lyes, (as the lattine proverbe is;) for there was never such a Kinge of Spaine called Milefius, nor any fuche colony seated with his sonnes, as they fayne, that cann ever bee proued. But yet under these tales yee may in manner see the truth lurke. 1860
For Scythians, here inhabitinge, they name and doe speake of Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both those nations here inhabited: but whether very Spaniards, (as the Irishe greatlie affecte), ys noe way to be proved.

Eudox. Whence cometh yt then that the Irishe doe soe greatlie covett to fetch themselves from the Spaniards, since the olde Gaules are a more auntyent and much more honorable nation?

Iren. Even of a very desier of newfangelnes and 1870
vanitie, for beinge as they are nowe accompted, the most barbarous Nation in Christendome, they to avoide that reproache woulde deryue them selves from the Spaniards, whom they now see to bee a very honorable people, and next borderinge unto them: But all that is most vaine; for from the Spaniard that nowe is, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themselves to descend; neither should it be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard, that now is, is come from 1880
as rude and saluage nations as they, there beinge, as yt may be gathered by corse of ages and veiwe of their owne histories (though they therein labored much to enoble themselves) scarce any dropp of the oulde Spanishe bloode left in them; for all Spaine

Il. 1877 80, 'or that . . . now is' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.

was first conquered by the Romaynes, and filled with Colonies from them, which were still encreased, and the native Spaniarde still cutt of. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the longe Punicke Warres, havinge spoiled all Spaine, and in the ende subdued yt whollie to themselves, did, (as yt is likelye) roote out all that were affected to the Romaynes. And lastly the Romaines, havinge againe recovered that countrye and beate out Hanniball, did doubtles cutt of all that had favored the Carthaginians, soe that betwixte them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romaynes. All which tempests of troubles being overblowen, there longe after arose a newe storme, more dreadfull then all the former, which over-ranne all Spaine, 1890 and made an infinite confusion of all thinges; that was, the coming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and Vandalles: and lastly all the Nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine flud, did overflowe all Spaine, and quite drowned and washt away whatever reliques there were left of the land-bred people, yea and of all the Romaynes too. The which Northerne Nations findinge the complexion of that soile, and the vehement heate there farr different from their natures, toke no felicitie in that country, but from 1910 thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all Countries in Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprincklinge, yf not through peoplinge of them. And yet after all those the Mores and Barbarians, breakinge over out of Africa, did finally possesse all Spaine, or the moste parte thereof, and treade downe under their foule

heathenifhe feete what ever little they founde there yet standinge. The which, though afterwards they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and 1920 Isabell his wife, yet they were not foe clenfed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture of the people of the lande, during their longe contynuanee there, they had left no pure drop of Spanifh blóode, noe nor of Romaine nor Scythian. Soe that of all nacons under heaven, I fuppofe, the Spaniard is the moft mingled, moft uncertain, and moft bastardlie : wherefore moft foolifhly doe the Irifh thinke to enoble themfelves by wreftinge their aunceftrie from the Spaniard, whoe is unable 1930 to deryve himfelfe from any nacon certen.

Eudox. You fpeake very fharplic, Irenius, in difhonor of the Spaniard, whome fome other boaft to be the only brave fouldier under the fkye.

Iren. Soe furely he is a very brave man ; nether is that which I fpeake any thinge to his derogacon, for, in that I faide he is a mingled people, and compounded with others, it is no difprayfe ; for I thinke there is no nation now in Chriften dome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with 1940 others : Yt was a finguler providance of God, and a moft admirable purpofe of his wifedome, to drawe thofe Northerne Heathen Nacons downe into thofe Christian partes, where they might receive Chriftianitie, and to mingle nations foe remote foe miraculouffie, to make, as it were, one kindred and blóode of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

l. 1921, miswritten '*Elizabeth*' in our MS.: l. 1934, '*nation*': l. 1938, '*it . . . difprayfe*' not in MS.: ll. 1938-41, '*for . . . others*,' *ibid.*

Eudox. Nether have you sure any more dishonored the Irish, for you have brought them from very greate and auntyent nations, as any were in the worlde, howe ever fondly they affecte the Spaniard. For both the Scythians and the Gaules were twoe as mightie nations as ever the worlde brought forth. But is there any token, denominacon or monument of the Gaules yet remayninge in Ireland, as there is of Scythians ? 1950

Iren. Yea surelie very many : for there is first in the Irish language many words of Gaules remayninge, and yet daylie used in comon speach.

Eudox. Wher, what was the Gallish speach ? is there any parte of yt still used amongest any nacon ? 1960

Iren. The Gallish speeche is the very Brytish, the which was generally used heere in all Bryttaine before the cominge of the Saxons : and yet is retayned of the Welchmen, the Cornishe men, and the Bryttains of Fraunce, though tyme, woorking alteracon of all thinges, and the tradinge and enterdeale with other nacons rounde about, have chaunged and greatly altered the dialecte thereof : but yet the originall wordes appeare to be the same, as who hath lyste to reede in Cambden or Buckanan, may see at large. Besides, there be many places, as havens, hilles, townes, and castles, which yet beare names from the Galles ; of the which Buckanan rehearfeth above 3 hundred in Scotland, and I can (I thinke) recount neare as many in Ireland : Moreover there be of the olde Galles certaine nacons yett remayninge in Ireland which retaine the olde denominacons of the Galles, as the Manapij, the 1970

Cauci, the Venti, and others; by all which and 1980 many other very reasonable probabilities, which this shorte 'coursse, will not suffer to be laid forth, it appeareth that the cheef inhabitantes in the Iland were Galles, cominge thither first from Spayne, and afterwards from besides Tannius, where the Gothes, Hunnes, and the Getes sat downe, they also beinge (as it is said) of some ancient Galles; and lastly passinge out of Gallia it self, from all the sea Coastes of Belgia and Celtica, into all the sotherne coastes of Ireland, which they possessed and inhabited, where- 1990 upon it is at this daye, amongst all the Irishe a common use to call any strange inhabitante there amongst them, Gald, that is, descended of [or] from the Gaules.

Eudox. This is very lykely, for even so did thies Gaules aunciently possesse and people all the Sotherne coastes of our Bryttaine, which yet retayne their old names, as the Belgix in Somersethier, Wiltshier, and parte of Hampezhier, Attrebatij in Barkshier, Regni in Suffex and Surrey, with many 2000 others. Nowe thus farr I understand your opinion, that the Scythians planted in the Northe parte of Ireland; the Spaniard (for so we call them) what euer they were that came from Spaine, in the West; the Gaules in the Southe: so that there now remayneth onely the East partes towardes England, which I would be glad to understand from whom you thinke them to be peopled.

Iren. Mary, from the Bryttons themselves, of

l. 1985, '*Tanais*': l. 2008, '*them . . . peopled*' not in our MS.: *ib.*, '*they were*' for '*them to be*.'

which though their be lyttle footinge nowe remayning, 2010
 by reason that the Saxons afterwarde and lastly the
 Englishe, dryvinge out all the first inhabitantes
 thereof, did possesse and people the land themselves.
 Yet amongst the Tooles, the Brines, the Cavenaghes,
 and other nacons in Linster, there is some memorie
 of the Brytons remayninge ; as the Tooles are called
 of the old Brytish woord Tol, that is, an hilly
 Country. The Brins of the Brytish woord Brin, that
 is, Woody. And the Cavenaghes, of Caune, that
 is, stronge. So that in thies three people, the very 2020
 denominacon of the old Bryttons doth still remayne.
 Besides, when any flyeth under the succor or
 protection of any against an enemy, he cryeth unto
 him, Commericke, that is Brytton Helpe, for the
 Brytton is called in his owne language, Commerouye.
 Furthermore to prove the same, Ireland is by
 Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Brytannia,
 and a parte of Greate Bryttaine. Finally, it
 appeareth by good Record yet extante that King
 Arthure, and before him Gurgunt, had all that Iland 2030
 in his alleagiaunce and subjection : hereunto I could
 adde many probabilities of the names of places,
 persons, and speeches, as I did in the former, but they
 should be to longe for this place, and I reserve them
 for another. And thus you have hard my opinion,
 howe all the Realme of Ireland was first peopled,
 and by what nacon. After all which the Saxons
 succceedinge, did wholley subdue it unto themselves.
 For first Egfryde, longe kinge of Northumberland,

l. 2016, 'are called' not in our MS., or rather 'is called' is miswritten
 'word' : l. 2024, 'Cummurrecch' : l. 2025, 'Cummeraig.'

did utterly waste and subdue it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint against him. And afterwarde Kinge Edgarr brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by auncient Record, in which it is founde wrytten that he subdued all the islandes of the North, even unto Norwaye, and their kings did bringe into his subjection.

Eudox. This rippinge up of Auncestries, is very pleasinge unto me, and indeed favoreth of good conceptes, and some reading withall. I see hereby howe profitable travill and experience of forraine nacons, is to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neyther indeed would I have thought, that any such antiquities could have bene avouched for the Irishe, that maketh me the more to longe to see some other of your observacons, which you have gathered out of that Country, and have earst half promised to put forthe: And sure in this minglinge of nacons appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpose of Almightye God, that stirred up the people in the furthest partes of the world to seeke out thies regions so remote from them, and by that meanes bothe to restore the decayed habitacons, and to make himfelfe knowne to the Heathen. But was their, I praye you, a more generall Impeoplinge of that Iland, then first by the Scythians, which you saye were the Scottes, and afterwarde by the Affricans, besydes the Gaules, Bryttons, and Saxons?

Iren. Yes, there was an other, and that the last and the greatest, which was by the English, when

l. 2065, 'winning': l. 2067, 'Spanyards.'

the Earle Strangbowe, havinge conquered that Lande, delivered up the same into the handes of Henry the second, then Kinge, who sent over thither great store of gentlemen, and other waryke people, amongst whom he distributed the Land, and setled such a stronge Colonie therein, as never since could, with all the subtile practices of the Irishe, be rooted out, but abyde still a mightie people, of so many as remayne Englishe of them.

Eudox. What is that you say, of so many as remayne English of them? Why, are not they that were once English, abydinge Englishe still?

Iren. No, for the most parte of them are degenerated and growen almost meare Irishe, yea and more malicious to the Englishe then the very Irishe them selves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it possyble that an Englishman, brought up naturally in such sweet civilitie as England affordes, could fynd such lyking in that barbarous rudenes, that he should forgett 2 his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nacon? howe may this be? or what I pray you may be the cause thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothinge but that first evill ordinance and Institution of that Common Wealthe. But thereof nowe is their no fitt place to speake, least, by the occation thereof offering matter of longe Discourse, we might be drawn from this that we have in hand, namely, the handleinge of abuses in the Customes of Ireland.

Eudox. In truthe Irenius, you doe well remember 21 the plott of your first purpose; but yet from that

me seemes, ye have much swarved in all this longe discourfe, of the first inhabiting of Ireland : for what is that to your purpose ?

Iren. Truly very materiall ; for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to shew by what meanes the Customes, that nowe are in Ireland, beinge some of them indeed very straunge and almost heathenish, were first brought in : and that 2110 was, as I said, by those nacons from whome that contry was first peopled ; for the difference of manners and customes doth followe the difference of nations and people : the which I have declared unto you to have bene 3 speciall, which seated themselves there ; to wyt, first the Scythian, then the Gaules, and lastly the Englishe. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were fundry other nacons which got footing in that Lande, of the which their yet remayne dyvers great 2120 families and feiptes, of whom I will also in their proper places make mencon.

Eudox. You bringe your self, Iren., very well into the waye againe, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the waye. But nowe that you have passed through their antiquities, which I could have wished not so soone ended, begine when yee please, to declare what Customes and manners have bene deryued from those nacons to the Irishe, and which of them yee fynd faulte withall. 2130

Iren. I will then begin to count their customes in the same order that I counted their nacons : and first with the Scythian or Scottish manners. Of the which there is one use amongst them, to keepe their

Cattell, and to live them selves the most parte of the yeare in Bollies, pasturinge upon the mountaines and waft wyld places; and removing still to freshe land, as they have depastured the former dayes. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may reede in Olaus Magnus, and 2140 Jo. Boemus, and yet is used amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heardes as they call them, beinge the very same that the Irishe Bollies are, dryving their cattell continually with them, and feeding onely on their whyt meates.

Eudox. What fault can you fynd with this custome? for thoughe it be an olde Scythian use, yet it is very behooffull in this Country of Irelande, where their are great mountaines, and waft desertes 2150 full of grasse, that the same should be eaten downe, and nourishe many thousandes of cattell for the good of the whole Realme, which cannot mithinke be any other waye, then by keepinge those Bollies as there ye have shewed.

Iren. But by this custome of Bolling there grewe in the meane tyme many great enormities unto that Comon waylth. For first, if their be any outlawes, or loose people, as they are never without some, which live upon the stelthes and spoyles, they are 2160 evermore sucered and fynd Releef onely in those Bollies, beinge upon the waft places, where eles they should be dryven shortly to sterve, or to come downe to the townes to seeke releef, where, by one meanes or another, they would soone be caught. Besydes,

1. 2146, 'milke and'

fuch stelheth of cattell they bringe comonly to those
 Bollies, wheare they are receaved readily, and the
 theif harbored from daunger of Lawe, or such officers
 as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that
 live thus in thies Bollies growe thereby more bar- 2170
 borous, and live more licentiously then they would in
 townes, using what meanes they lyft, and practyzyng
 what mischeefes and villainies they will, eyther
 against the government theire, generally by their
 combinacons, or against pryvate men, whom they
 maligne, by stealinge their goodes, or murtheringe
 themselves. For theare they thinke them selves
 half exempted from Lawe and obedience, and
 haveinge once tasted freedome, doe, lyke a steare
 that hath bene longe out of his yooke, grudge and 2180
 repyne ever after to come under rule againe.

Eudox. By your speech, Irein. I perceive more
 evill come by theis bollies, then good by their
 grafinge; and therefore it may well be reformed:
 but that must be in his due course: doe you pro-
 ceede to the next.

Iren. They have another custome from the
 Scythians, that is the wearinge of manteles, and
 longe glebbes, which is a thicke curled bushe of
 heare, hanginge downe over their eyes, and mon- 2190
 strously disguyfinge them, which are both very badd
 and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the mantle cometh
 from the Scythians? I would surely thinke other-
 wyse, for by that which I have redd, it appeareth

1. 2166, 'as' misinserted before 'they' in our MS., and 'as they make'
 not in it, as in Collier, etc.—'as they make they bringe.'

that most nacons in the world aunciently used the mantle. For the Jewes used it, as you may reed of Elias mantle, of [blank space]. The Caldees also used it, as you may reed in Diodorus. The Egyptians lykewyes used it, as yee may reed in Herodotus, 2200 and may be gathered by the discription of Berenice, in the greek Commentaries upon Callimachus. The Greekes also used it aunciently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with starres, though afterwards they chaunged the forme thereof into their clookes, called Pallia, as some of the Irishe also use. And the auncient Latines and Romans used it, as yee may reede in Virgill, who was a very great Antiquarie, that Evander, when Ænæas came to him at his feast, did intertaine and feast him on the ground, and lying 2210 on manteles. Infomuch as he useth the very woord mantle for a mantle.

—— Mantilia humi sternunt.

So that it seemeth that the mantle was a generall habite to most nacons, and not proper to the Scythians onely, as yee suppose.

Iren. I cannot deny but aunciently it was comon to most, and yet fithence disused and laid away. But in this latter age of the world, since the decay of the Romaine empyre, it was renued and brought 2220 in againe by those Northerne nacons when, breakinge out of their could caves and frosen habitacons into the sweet soyle of Europe, they brought with them their usuall weedes, fitt to sheild their could, and that

l. 2201, miswritten '*discipline*' in our MS. : l. 2206, '*doe*' : l. 2208, '*auncient*.'

continuall frost, to which they had bene at home inured: the which yet they leste not of, by reason that they were in perpetuall warres with the nacons where they had invaded. But still removing from place to place, carryed always with them that weede, as their howse, their Bedd and their garment. And, 2230 cominge lastly into Irelande, they found there more speciall use thereof, by reason of the rawe could clymate, from whence it is nowe grown into that generall use in which that people nowe have it. Afterward the Affricans succeedinge, fyndinge the lyke necessitie of that garment, continued the lyke use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the necessitie thereof is so comodious, as ye aledge, that it is insteed of howsinge, Bedding, and Clothinge, what reason have 2240 you then to wishe so necessary a thinge cast of?

Iren. Because the comoditie dothe not counter-vayle the discomoditie, for the inconveniences that thereby doe aryse are much more many; for it is a fitt howse for an outlawe, a meet Bedd for a Rebelle, and apte Cloke for a theef. First the outlawe beinge for his many crymes and villainies banished from the townes and howses of honest men, and wandring in waft places, farre from daunger of Lawe, maketh his mantle his howse, and under it covereth himself 2250 from the wrathe of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raynethe it is his penthowse; when it bloweth it is his tente; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer he can weare it loose, in winter he can lappe it close;

l. 2235, 'Gauls': l. 2238, 'Sith': l. 2255, 'weare.'

at all tymes he can use it; never heaue, never comberfome. Lykewaies for a Rebelle it is as serviceable; for in his warre that he maketh, if at least it deserue the name of warre, when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woodes and straigt 2 passages, wayting for advantages, it is his Bedd, yea, and almost all his houshold stuffe. For the wood is his howse against all wethers, and his mantle is his cave to sleepe in. Therein he wrappeth himself rounde, and esconsfeth himself strongly against the gnattes, which in the Country doe more anoy the naked rebelles, whylst they keepe the woodes, and doe more sharply wound them, then all their enemyes swordes or speares, which can feldome come nighe them: yea, and often tymes their mantle 22 ferveth them, when they are nighe driven, being wrapped about their lefte arme instead of a Target, for it is hard to cut thorough it with a swoord. Befydes it is light to beare, light to throw away, and, being, as they then commonly, naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a theef it is so handsome, as it may seeme it was firste invented for him; for under yt he can clenly convey any fytt pillage that cometh handfomely in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-bootinge, it is his best 22 and surest frend; for lyinge, as they often doe, two or three nightes together abroad, to watch for their booty, with that they can prettyly shroud themselves under a bush or a backe syde, tyll they may conveniently doe their errande: and when all is doone, he can in his mantle passe through any

towne or Company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledg of any to whome he is indaungered. Besydes all this, he, or any man eles that is dysposed to any mischeef or villainie, 2290 may under his mantle goe privly armed without suspicon of any, carry his headpeece, his skene, or pistole if he please, to be alwaies in a readines. Thus necessarye and fytting is a mantle for a Badd man. And surely for a badd hufwyfe it is no lesse convenient, for some of them that be wandring women, called of them Mona shut, it is half a Wardrobe ; for in Somer ye shall fynd her arayed comonly but in her smocke and mantle ; to be more ready for the light services: in Wynter, and in her 2300 travill, it is her cloake and safegard, and also a coverlett for her lewde exercyse. And when she hath fyld her vessill, under it she can hyde bothe her burden, and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is borne it serves instead of all her swadling cloutes. And as for all other good women which love to doe but lyttle woorke, howe handsome it is to lye in and sleepe, or to louse themselves in the sunne shine, they that have bene but a whyle in Ireland, can well wytnesse. Sure I am that you 2310 will thinke it very unfitt for good hufwyves, to stirre in, or to busy her self about her hufwyfry in such forte as they should. Thies be some of the abuses for which I would thinke it meete to forbydd all mantles.

Eudox. O evill mynded man, that having reckned

l. 2290, 'villanye to any man': l. 2297, 'Beantoolhe': l. 2305, 'insteede of a craddle and.'

up so many uses of mantles, will ye yet wishe it to be abandoned? Sure I thinke Diogenes dishe did never serve his master more turnes, notwithstanding he made [it] his dishe, his cupp, his measure, his water- 23
pott, then a mantle doth an Irish man. But I see they be all to bad intentes, and therefore I will joyne with you in abolishinge it. But what blame lay you to the glybb? take heed, I pray you, that you be not too busie therewith for feare of your owne blame, seeing our Englishemē take it up in such a generall fashion to weare their heare so immesurably longe, that some of them exceed the longest Irish glybbes.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeferved 23
myflye; but for the Irish glybbes, I say that besyde their falsyte, brutishnes and fylthines which is not to be named; they are [as] fitt maskes as a mantle is for a theife. For whensoever he hath runne himself into that perill of lawe that he will not be knowen, he eyther cutteth of his glibb quite, by which he becometh nothing lyke himself, or pullethe it so lowe downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to discerne his thevishe countenance. And therefore fit to be trussed up with the mantle.

Eudox. Truly thies three Scythian abuses, I should 234
fitt to be taken away with sharpe pennalties; and sure I wonder howe they have bene kepte thus longe, notwithstanding so many good provicons and orders as have bene devysed for that people.

Iren. The cause thereof shall appeare to you

l. 2327, 'unmesurably': l. 2331, 'distikes': l. 2341, 'hold most':
l. 2345, 'for the reformation of.'

hereafter. But let us nowe goe forward with our Scythian Customes. Of the next that I have to treat of, is the manner of rayfinge their Crye in their conflictes, and at other troblefome tymes of uprore : 2350 the which is very naturall Scythian, as we may reed in Diodorus Siculus, and Heroditus, discrybing the manner of the Scythians and Parthians cominge to geve the charge at their battelles : at the which it is said, they come running with a terrible yell and hubbubbe as if heaven and yearth would have gone together, which is the very Image of the Irish hubbub, which their kerne use at their first incounter. Befydes, the same Herodotus wryteth, that they used in their battelles to call upon the names of their 2360 Captaines or generalls, and sometymes upon their greatest kinge disceased, as in that battell of Tomyris against Cyrus: which custome to this day manifestly appeareth emongst the Irishe. For at their joyning of battell, they lykewyes call upon their captaines name, or the name of his auncestors. As they under Oneale crye Landergabo, that is, the bloudy hand, which is Oneales badge: they under Obrien call [Laun-laidir], which is [the strong hand]. And to their ensample, the old Englishe also which there 2370 remayneth, have gotten up their cryes Scythian like, as Cromabo, and Butlerabo. And herein also lyeth open an other very manifest proof that the Irishe are Scythes or Scottes, for in all their incounters they use one very comon woord, crying

l. 2349, 'cry': l. 2353, 'Persians': l. 2358, 'hubbaboue': l. 2369, [blank space here]: l. 2372, 'as the Geraldins Crown—alowe and the Butlers Butleaur—about.'

Ferragh, ferrog, which is a Scottishe word, to wyt, the name of one of their first kinges of Scotland, called Fergus (or Ferragus), which fought against the Pictes, as you may reed in Buckanan *de rebus Scotiis*; but as others wryt, it was longe before, 2380 that the name of their cheef Captayn, under whome they fought against the Affricans, the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their Battelles.

Eudox. Beleeve me Irenius, this obsevacon of yours is very good and delightfull; farre beyond the blynd concept of some, whome I remember have upon the same woord Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecture, as namely Mr. Stanihurst, who though he be the same country man borne, that should search 2390 more nearely into the secreats of thies thinges, yet hath strayed from the truthe all the heavens wyde (as they faye,) for he therevpon groundethe a very grosse imaginacon, that the Irishe should discend from the Egiptianes which came into that Iland, first under the leadinge of Scota the daughter of Pharao, whereupon they use (saith he) in all their battailes to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh, Ferragh. Surely he shott wyde on the Bowe hand, and very farre from the marke. For 2400 I would first knowe of him what auncient ground of Authoritie he hath for such a sencelesse fable, and if he have any of the rude Irishe bookes, as it may be he hath, yet me seemes a man of his learning

l. 2376, '*Farrih*': l. 2387, '*blunt*': l. 2388, '*gross*': ll. 2397—2404, '*whereupon* *seemes*' not in our MS., but in Collier and Morris, etc.: l. 2398, '*Farrih*' as before.

should not so lightly have bene carryed away with old wyves tales from approvance of his owne Reafon; for whether Scotā be lyke an Egiptiā woord or smacke of any learning or judgment, let the learned judge. But his Scotā rather comes upon the Greeke *Scoto*, that is, darkenes, which hath not 2410 let him see the light of the truthe.

Iren. You knowe not, Eudoxus, howe well Mr. Stanihurst could see in the darke; perhappes he hath owles or cattles eyes, but well I woot he seeth not well the very light in matters of more wayght. But as for Ferragh I have tould you my conjecture onely, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelihood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Irish men, chiefly in the Northeren partes, called by the name of Ferragh. But let that nowe 2420 be: this onely for this place suffyseth, that it is a woord comonly used in their hubbubbs, the which, with all the rest, is to be abolifhed, for that it discovereth an affection of Irishe captenry, which in this platforme I indeavour specially to beat downe. There be other foartes of cryes, all so used among the Irishe, which favour greatly of the Scythian barbarifme, as their lamentacons at their burialles, with dispairefull outcryes, and imoderate waylinges, the which Mr. Stanihurst might also have used for 2430 an argument to prove them Egiptians, for so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the deathe of Joseph. Others thinke this Custome to come from the Spaniardes, for that

l. 2420, '*Farechs*': l. 2422, '*Hubbabowes*': ll. 2431-2, '*for . . . Egyptians*' not in our MS. or in Dr. Morris, but in Collier, etc.

they doe imefurably bewayle lykewife their dead. But the fame is not propper Spanishe, but altogether heathenishe, brought in first thither eyther by the Scythians, or the Moores, which weare Affricans but longe possessed that Country. For it is the manner of all Paganes and infidelles to be intemperate in 2440 their waylinges of their dead, for that they had no faythe nor hope of salvacon. And this ill Custome also is specially noated by Diodorus Siculus, to have bene in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the Northeren Scottes at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

Eudox. This is an evill Custome also, but yet doth not so much conferne Civill Reformacon, as abuse in Religion.

Iren. I did not rehearse it as one of the abuses 2450 which I thought most worthie of Reformation; but having made mencon of Irishe cryes I thought this manner of Cryinge and howlinge not impertinent to be noted as uncyvill and Scythians lyke: for by thies old customes, and other lyke conjecturall circumstances, the descentes of nacons can onely be proved, where other monuments of writinge are not Remayninge.

Eudox. Then I pray you whensoever in your discourse you meet with them by the way, doe not 2460 shune, but bouldly touch them; for befydes their great pleasure and delight for their antiquitie, they bringe also great profit and helpe unto civilitie.

Iren. Then fythenes you will have it foe I will

l. 2435, 'unmeasurably': ll. 2445-6, 'as . . . chronicles' not in our MS. or Dr. Morris, but in Collier, etc.: l. 2453, 'lewd crying.'

heare take occation, since I lately spake of their
 manner of Cryes in joyninge of Battaile, to speake
 somewhat also of the manner of their Armes, and
 Array in battayle, with other Customes perhappes
 woorth the notinge. And first of their Armes and
 Weapons, amongst which their broad swordes are 2470
 proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used comonly, as
 you may reed in Olaus Magnus. And the same also
 the old Scottes used, as yee may reed in Buchanan,
 and in [Solinus], where the pictures of them are in
 the same forme expressed. Also their short bowes,
 and lytle quivers with shorte Bearded arrowes, are
 very Scythiã, as ye may reede in the same Olaus.
 And the same soart, bothe of bowes, quivers, and
 arrowes, are at this daye. to be seene comonly
 among the Northern Irishe, whose Scottishe bowes 2480
 are not past 3 quarters of a yard longe, with a
 stringe of wrethed hempe slackly bente, and whose
 arrowes are not above half an ellsonge, tipped
 with steele heades, made lyke comon broad arrowes
 heades, but many more sharpe and slender, that
 they enter into an armed mã or horse most
 cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shott forth
 weakely. Moreover, their longe broad sheeldes,
 made but with wicker roddes, which are comonly
 used amongst the said Northeren Irishe, but specially 2490
 of the Scottes, and brought from the Scythians, as
 ye may reede in Olaus Magnus, Solinus, and others ;
 lykewyes their goinge to battaile without armor on
 their bodies or heades, but trusting onely to the
 thicknes of their glybbes, the which they say will

sometymes beare of a good stroke, is meare salvage and Scythian, as ye may see in the said Images of the old Scythes or Scottes, fet forth by Herodianus and others. Bedydes, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or aray, their clashing of swordes together, their fierce runninge upon their enemyes, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is redd in all histories to have bene used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallably be gathered, together with other circumstances, that the Irishe are very Scottes or Scythes oridgionall, though since intermingled with many other nacons repairinge and joyninge unto them. And to these I may also add an other very stronge conjecture which cometh to my mynde, that ² I have often observed there amongst them, that is, certaine relidgious Ceremonies, which are very superstitious, yet used amongst them, the which are also wrytten by fundry Authores, to have bene observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were aunciently all one. For Plutarch as I remember, in his Treatise of Homere, indeavouringe to search out the truth, what countryman Homere was, proveth it most strongly, as he thinketh, that he was an Italian ²⁵ borne; for that in distributing of a sacrifice of the Greekes, he omitted the [blank] called [blank] [loyne,] the which all the other Grecians, save the Italians, doe use to burne in their sacrifice: also for that he maketh the entralles to be rosted on fyve spites, the which was the proper maner of the

l. 2520, 'Aeolian': l. 2521, 'describing': l. 2524, 'Aeolians.'

Ætolians, who only, of all the nations and Cuntries of Gretia, used to sacrifice in that sorte, whereas all the rest of the Greekes used to roste them upon three spites, by which he inferreth, necessarily, that Homere 2530 was an Ætolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irish are descended from the Scythians; for that they use even to this day, some of the same Ceremonies which the Scythians aunciently used. As for example, yee may reade in [Lucian] in that sweet dialogue which is intituled Toxaris or of frendshipp, that the comon oath of the Scythians, was by the sword, and by the fyre, for that they accounted these two specyall devyne powers, which should worke vengeance on perjurors. So doe 2540 the Irish at this day, when they goe to any battayle, say certayne prayers or charmes to their swordes, making a crosse therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the poyntes of their blades into the grownd; thinking thereby to have the better successe in fight. Alsoe they use to sweare comonly by their swordes. Likewise at the kindling of Candles, they say certayne prayers; and use some other superstitious rites, which shewe that they honor the fyre and the light; for all those Northerne nations, 2550 having bene used to be annoyed with much cold and darkenesse, are wont therefore to have the fyre and the sunne in great veneracon: like as otherwise the Moores and Egyptians, which are much offended and greved with much extreame heate of the sunne, doe every morning, when the sunne aryseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague and cheife

l. 2536, [blank in our MS.] ; l. 2547, 'the fire and.'

scourge. [Also the Scythians used when] they would binde any solemne vowe or combynacon, to drawe a bowle of blood, together vowing therby to spend their last blood in that quarrell, as ye may reade in Buckhanan ; and some of the Northerne Irishe, lyke-wife : as ye may also reade in the same booke, in the tale of Arfacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians when any on[e] of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people, to joyne with him in his revenge, to fit in some publick place for certayne dayes upon an oxe hide, to which there would resort all such persons as being disposed to take armes would enter into his armes, would take pay or ioine with him in his quarrell. And the same ye may lykewise reade to have bene the auntyent manner of the wilde Scottes, which are indeed the very naturall Irish. Moreover, the Scythians used to sweare by ther Kinges hand, as Olaus sheweth. And soe doe the Irish use to swere by their Lordes hand, and, to forswear it, hould it more cryminall then to sweare by god. Also the Scythians sayd, that they were once every yere turned into wolves, and soe it is wrighten of the Irish ; thoughe Master Camden in a better sence doe suppose it was a disseaze, called Licanthropia, soe named of the wolfe. And yet some of the Irish doe use to make the wolf their goffopp. The Scythians also used to feeth the fleshe in the hyde ; and so doe the North Irishe yet. The Scythians likewise used to boyle the bloode of

1. 2586, Substantially Dr. Morris's text agrees, but our MS. somewhat differently arranges the sentences in these two pages.

the beaft lyvinge, and to make meate thereof : and foe doe the Iriſhe ſtill in the North. Manye ſuch cuſtomes I could recounte unto you, as of 2590 there ould manner of marrying, of burying, of dauncing, of finging, of feaſtinge, of curſing, though Chriſtians have wyped out the moſt parte of them, by reſemblance whereof yt might playnely appere to you that the nacons ar the ſame, but that by the reckoning of theſe fewe, which I haue tould unto you, I finde my ſpeech drawen out to a greater lenth then I ſuppoſed. Thus much only for his tyme, I hope, ſhall ſuffice you, to thinke that the Iriſhe are auneyntly deduced from the 2600 Scythians.

Eudox. Surely, Irenius, I have in theſe fewe wordes heard that from you which I would have thought had bene impoſſible to have bene ſpoken of tymes foe remote, and cuſtomes foe auneynt : with delight whereof I was all that while as it were entranced, and carryed farr from my ſelfe, as that I am now right ſorrye that yee ended foe ſoone. But I marvayle much howe it cometh to paſſe, that in foe long contynuance of tyme, and many 2610 ages come betwene, yett any jott of thoſe ould rightes and ſuperſtitious cuſtomes ſhould remayne amongeſt them.

Iren. It is noe cauſe of wounder at all ; for it is the manner of all barbarous nacons to be very ſuperſtitious, and diligent obſervors of ould cuſtomes and antiquities, which they receyve by contynuall tradicon from ther parentes, by recording of ther

L. 2598, '*purpoſed.*

bardes and cronicl[s], in their fonges, and by dayly use and enfample of ther elders. 2620

Eudox. But have you I pray you observed any such customes amongst them, brought likewise from the Spanyardes or Gaules, as those from the Scythians? that may fure be very materiall unto your first purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have; and whoe that will by this occasion marke and compare ther customes shall finde many more. But ther are fewer I thinke, remayning of the Gaules or Spanyardes then of the Scythians, by reason that the partes, which they 2630 then possessed lying upon the Coast of the Westerne and Southerne Sea, were fithence contynually visited with strangers and forreyne people, repaying thither for trafficke, and for fishing, which is very plentifull upon the coastes: for the trade and enterdeale of seacoste nacons one with another worketh more civility and good fashions, all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions, then the Inland dwellers which are feldome seene of forreyners; yet some of them as I have noted, 2640 I will recounte unto you. And first I will, for the better credit of the rest, shewe you one out of ther Statutes, amongst which it is enacted that noe man shall weare his beard but only on the upper lyp, like muschachios, shaving all the rest of his chinne. And this was the auncient manner

l. 2627, '*occasion more diligently marke*': l. 2631, '*then possessed*' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.; l. 2635, '*the/s*': ll. 2637-8, '*all . . . fashions*' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: 2644, '*but*,' from Dr. Morris, not in our MS.

of the Spanyardes, as yett it is of all the Mahometans, to cut all ther beardes close, save onely muschachos, which they weare longe. And the cause of this use was for that they, being 2650 bred in an hot country, found much hayre on ther faces and other partes to be noyous unto them: for which cause they did cutt yt most away, like as contrarily all other nacons, brought upp in could countryes doe use to nourish ther hare, to keep them the warmer, which was the cause that the Scythians and Scottes woare glibbes, as I shewed you, to keep ther heades warme, and long beardes to defend ther faces from could. From them also I thinke came saffron shirtes and smockes, which 2660 was devised by them in those hotte countryes, wher saffron is very comon and rife, for avoyding that evill which cometh of much swetnes, and longe wearing of linnen. Also the women amongst the ould Spanyardes had the charge of all hufhould affayres, both at home and abroad, as Boemius wrighteth, though now theise Spanyardes use it quite otherwise. And soe have the Irish women the trust and care of all thinges, both at home, and in the feilde. Likewise rownd lether targettes, 2670 as the Spanyarde fashon, who used it, for the most part, paynted, which in Ireland they use alsoe, in many places, colored after ther rude fashon. Moreover ther manner of ther womens ryding on the wrong fyde of the horse, I meane with ther faces toward their right fyde, as the Irish

1. 2649, '*they*' from Collier, Morris, etc. : 1. 2652, '*noy/some*':
1. 2663, '*sweating*.'

ufe, is, as they fay, ould Spanifh, and as fome fay Africane, ffor amongft them the women (they fay) ufe to ride acroffe: Also the deep fmock fleve hanging to the grownd, which the Irifh women 2680 ufe, (they fay), was ould Spanifh, and is ufed yett in Barbary: and yett that fhould feme rather to be an ould Irifh fafhion; for in Armory the fafhion of the Manche, which is geuen in armes by many, being indeed nothing ells but a fleve, is fafhioned much like to that fleve. And that Knightes in ould tymes ufed to weare ther miftres favor or loves fleve, upon ther armes, as appereth by that is wrighten of Sir Launcelott, that he wore the fleve of the fayre mayd of Afteroth in 2690 a tourney, whereat Quene Guenouer was much difpleafed.

Eudox. Your conceit is very good, well fitting for things foe farre from certaynty of knowledge and learning, only upon lykelyhoodes and conjectures. But have you any customes remaying from the Gaules or Bryttans?

Iren. I have obferved a few of eyther; and whoe will better fearch into them may find more. And firft the profeffion of their Bardes was, as Cæfar writeth, ufual amongft the Gaules; and 2700 the fame was alfo comon amongft the Brittons, and is not yett altogether left of with the Walfhe, which are ther pofterity. ffor all the fafhions of the Brittons, as he testifieth, were much like. The longe dearts came alfo from the Gaules, as

l. 2683, '*Engliſh*': l. 2687, '*auncient*': l. 2690, '*Aſceloth*': l. 2694, '*farre growne*': l. 2705, '*Gaules and*.'

ye may read in the fame Ceasaer, and in John Boemius. Likewise the said Jo. Boemius wrighteth, that the Gaules used swordes, a hanfull broad, and foe doe the Irish nowe. Also that they used 2710 long wicker sheilds in battell that should cover their whole bodyes, and foe doe the Northerne Irish. But becaufe I have not seen such fashioned targettes in the Southerne partes, but only amongst those Northerne people, and Irish Scottes, I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. Alsoe the Gaules used to drincke ther enymyes blood, and to paynte themselves therewith: foe alsoe they wright, that the ould Irish were wonte, and foe have I fene 2720 some of the Irish doe, but not their enymyes but frendes bloode. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Lymbricke, called Murrough Obrien, I saw an ould woman, which was his foster mother, tooke up his heade, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood running thereout, saying, that the earth was not worthy to drincke it, and therewith also steeped her face and brest, and tare her heare, crying and shrieking out most terribly. 2730

Eudox. Yee have very well runne thorough such customes as the Irish have deryved from the first ould nacons which inhabited that land, namely, the Scythians, the Spanyardes, the Gaules, the Brittanies. It nowe remayneth that you now take in hand the customes of the ould English which

1. 2708, '*Likewise . . . Boemius*' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.

are amongst the Irish: of which I doe not thinke that yee shall have much to find fault with any, consideringe that by the Englishe most of the ould badd Irish Customes were abolisshed, and more cyvill 2 fashions brought in their steade.

Iren. You thinke otherwise, Eudox: then I doe; for the cheifest abuses which are nowe in that realme, are growne from the English, that are now much more lawlesse and lycencious then the very wild Irish: so that as much care as was then by them had to reforme the Irish, so much and more must nowe be used to reforme them; soe much tyme doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That semeth very strange which you say, 27 that men should soe muche degenerate from their first natures as to grow wild.

Iren. Soe much can libertye and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the English ther, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amonge them at the first, and had they not governors to curbe and keepe them still in awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was such for the most part, 27 as did more hurt then good? for they had governors for the most part of them selves, and comonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and the Butlers, both adversaries and corivales one against the other. Who though, for the most part, they were but deputies under some of the Kinges of England

l. 2741, 'in' miswritten 'vpp' in our MS. : l. 2747, 'Irish' miswritten 'English' in our MS.

sonns, brethren, or other nere kinsmen, who were the Kinges leutenantes, yet they swayed foe much as they had all the rule, and the others but the tytle. Of which Butlers and Geraldines, albeit I 2770 must confesse they were very braue worthy men, as also of other the peres of that realme, made Lorde Deputyes, and lord Justices and signories at sundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conquests and feignories they grewe insolent, and evill bente both that regall authority, and also ther private powers, one against another, to the utter subversion of them selves and strenthining of the Irish againe. This you may reade playnly discovered by a letter written from the Citizens of Corke out of 2780 Ireland, to the earle of Shreffsburye then in England, and remayning yet upon recorde, both in the Tower of London, and alsoe amongst the Cronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the English Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great possessions in Ireland, began thorough pride and insolencye, to make private warrs one against another, and, when the other parte was weake, they would wage and drawe in the Irish to take ther part, by which meanes they both greatly encoraged and enabled 2790 the Irish, which till that tyme had bene shut upp within the mountaynes of Slewlongher, and weakened and disabled them selves, in foe much that there revenews were wonderfully impayred, and some of them, which are ther reckoned to have bene able to have spent xij or xiiij hundred poundes per annum,

ll. 2774-5, 'at sundry . . . feignories' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc. : and so ll. 2784-6, 'Wherein . . . Ireland.'

of owld rent, that I may fay noe more, besides ther comodetyes of Creekes and havens, were now scarce able to dispend the third part. From which disorder, and thorough ther huge calamityes which 2 have come vpon them therby, they are now almost growne to be almost as lewde as the Irish: I meane of such English as were planted towardes the West; for the English pale hath preserved it selfe, thorough nearenes of the state, in reasonable civilitye, but the rest which dwell aboue in Connagh and Munster, which is the sweetest foyle of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, ar degenerate and growen to be as very Patchcockes as the wild Irishe, yea, some of them haue quite shaken of ther English 21 names, and put on Irishe that they might be altogether Irishe.

Eudox. Is it possible that any should soe farr growe out of frame that they should in soe short space, quite forgett ther Country and ther owne names? that is a most dangerous LETHARGIE, much worse then that of MESSILA CARVINUS, who, being a most learned man, thorough sicknes forgot his owne name. But can you counte us any of this kynde? 28.

Iren. I cannot but by the reporte of the Irishe themselves, who report, that the Macmaghons, in the North, were auncyently English; to witt, descended from the Fitz Urfulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appered by the significacon of their Irish names. Lykewise that the Macswinies, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres of England,

l. 2803, 'planted aboue.'

but that they themselves, for hatred of the English, foe disguised their names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceyve any such devilish dislike of ther owne naturall Country, as that they would be ashamed of ther name, and bite of the dugged from which they sucked lyfe?

Iren. I wote well ther should be none : but proud heartes doe oftentimes, like wanton coulters, kicke at ther mothers, as we reade Alcibiades and Themistocles did, who, being banished out of Athens, fledd unto the Kinge of Asia, and ther stirred him upp to warr against ther Country, in which warrs they themselves wer cheiftaynes. Soe that, they sayd, did these Macswynes and Macmahons, or rather Veres or Fitz Urfulaies, for private despote, turne themselves against England. For at suche tyme as Robert Vere, Earle of Oxford, was in the Barons warrs against King Richard the seconde, thorough the mallice of the Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he with his kynsman Fitz Urfula fledd into Ireland, wher being prosecuted, and afterwarde in England put to death, his kinsmen there remayning behinde in Ireland, rebelled, and conspiring with the Irish, did quite cast of ther English names and allegiance; since which tyme they have so remained, and have ever since bene counted meere Irish. The verye like is also ever soe reported of Macswynes, Macmahons and Macshehaies of Mounster, howe they likewise were auntyently English, and old followers to the Earle of Desmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the fourth: at which tyme the Earle of

ll. 2852-4, 'fo . . . alfo,' from Collier, Morris, etc., but not in our MS.

Desmonde that then was, called Thomas, being thorough false subbornacon, as they say, of the 2860
 Queene for some offence, by her against him conceyved, brought to his death at Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and founde subiecte to the kinge. Therupon all his kinsmen of the Garaldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounster, in reveng of that huge wronge, rose into armes against the kinge, and utterly renounced and forswore all obedience to the Crowne of England; to whom the sayd Mackswynes, Mackshehayes, and Mackmahons, ther servantes and 2870
 followers, did the like, and have euer sithence so continued. And with them, they say, all the people of Mounster went, and many other of them, which were mere English, thenceforth ioyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irishe habites and customes, which would never since be cleane wyped awaye, but the Contagion thereof hath remayned still amongst ther posterities. Of which sorte, they say, be most of the furnames which end in an, as Shinian, 2880
 Mangan, &c. the which nowe account them selves naturall Irish. Other great howses ther bee of the ould Englishe in Ireland, which thorough lycentious converginge with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have degendred from ther auntyent

l. 2862, 'Drogheda': l. 2868, 'forsooke': l. 2875, 'meere': ll. 2875-6, 'against . . . Irish' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 2877, 'could': l. 2880, 'Heenan' (Collier), 'Hernan' (Morris), before 'Shinian': l. 2882, 'meere': l. 2886, 'degenerated.'

dignities, and are nowe growen as Irish as Ohanlans
 breach, (as the proverbe ther is,) of which forte
 ther are two moft pittifull exfamples above the reft :
 to witt the Lord Breningham, who being the moft 2890
 auntyent Barron in England, is nowe waxen the
 moft salvage Irish, naming himfelfe Irish like
 Noccorish : and the other the greate Mortimer, who
 forgetting howe great he was once in England, or
 Englifh at all, is now become the moft barbarous of
 them all, and is now called Macnemarra; and [not]
 much better then he is the ould Lord Courrie, who
 having lewdly wafted all the land and signoryes that
 he had and aliened them unto the Irishe, is himfelfe
 alfo now growne quite Irishe.

2900

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a moft
 shamfull hearing, and to be reformed with moft
 sharpe fenfures in foe greate perfonages, to the
 terroure of the meaner : for wher the lords and
 chiefe men wax fo barbarous and baftard like, what
 fhall be hoped of the pefantes, and bafier people ?
 And hereby fure you have made a fayre waye
 unto your felfe to lay open the abufes of ther vile
 cuftomes, which yee have now next to declare, the
 which, noe doubt, but are very bad and barbarous, 2910
 being borrowed from the Irish, as there apparell, ther
 language, their riding, and many other the lyke.

Iren. Yee cannot but thinke them fure to be
 very brute and uncyvill ; for were they at the beft
 that they weare of ould, when they were brought
 in, they fhould in foe long an alteracon of tyme
 feeme very frang and uncouth. For it is to be

l. 2890, '*Bremacham*': l. 2897, '*Courrye*': l. 2899, '*allyed*.'

thought, that the use of all Englande, was in the
 raigne of Henry the seconde, when Ireland was first
 planted with Englishe, very rude and barbarous, foe 2920
 as yf the same should be nowe used in England by
 any, it would seme worthy of sharpe correction, and
 of newe lawes for reformacon; but it is but even
 the other day since England grewe cyvill: therfore
 in countyng the evill customes of the Englishe ther,
 I will [not] have regard whether the beginninge
 thereof were Englishe or Irish, but will have respect
 only to the inconvenyence thereof. And first I have
 to find faulte with the abuse of language, that
 is, for the speaking of Irishe amongst the English, 2930
 which as it is unnaturall that any people should
 love another language more then ther owne, foe it
 is very inconvenient, and the cause of many other
 evils.

Eudox. It semeth strang to me that the English
 should take more delight to speake that language
 then ther owne, whereas they should (me thinkes)
 rather take scorne to acquainte ther tonges therto:
 for it hath alwayes bene the use of the conqueror
 to dispose the language of the conquered, and to 2940
 force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the
 Romans alwayes use, infomuch that ther is almost
 not a nacon in the world, but is sprinkled with their
 language. It were good therfore (me thinkes) to
 search out the originall course of this evill; for, the
 same beinge discovered, a redresse thereof wilbe the
 more easily provided: for I thinke it were strange,
 that the English being foe many, and the Irish foe

l. 2923, 'for': l. 2940, 'dispi/e': l. 2945, 'cause.'

fewe, as they then were left, the fewer should drawe the more unto their use.

2950

Iren. I suppose that the chiefe cause of bringing in the Irish language, amongst them, was specially ther fostering, and marriyng with the Irish, which are twoe most dangerous infections; for first the child that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of necessity learne his first speach of her, the which being the first that is enured to his tongue, is after most plesing unto him, insomuch as though he afterwarde be taught English, yet the smacke of the first will always abide with him; and not only of the speach, but of the manners and condicons. For besydes the yonge children bee like apes, which affect and Imitate what they have seene done before them, specially by their nourses whom they love soe well: moreover they drawe into themselves, together with ther sucke, even the nature and disposition of ther norfes: for the mind followeth much the temperature of the body; and alsoe the wordes are the image of the minde, soe as, the[y] proceeding from the minde, the mynd must be needes affected with the wordes. Soe that the speach being Irish, the hart must needes be Irish; for out of the abundance of the hart, the tonge speaketh. The next is the marryinge with the Irish, which how dangerous a thinge it is in all comonwelths appeareth to every symplest sence; and thoughe some greate ones have used such matches with ther vassales, and have of them neverthelesse raysed worthie yssue, as Telamon did with Tecmissa, Alexander the greate with Roxane, and Julius Cesar with Cleopatre, yet the example is

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so perillous, as it is not to be ventured : for in stead of those few good, I could counte unto them infinite many evell. And indeed how can such matching but bring forth an evill race, seing that comonly the child taketh most of his nature of the mother, besydes speach, mannors, and inclynation, which are for the most part agreeable to the condicons of ther mothers ? for by them they are first framed and fashioned soe as [if] they receyve any thing from, them they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are theise 2990
twoe evill customes of fostering and maryinge with the Irishe most carefully to be restrayned ; for of them twoe, the third, that is the evill custome of language which I spake of, cheifly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are ther not lawes alredye appointed, for avoyding of this evill ?

Iren. Yes, I thinke there be ; but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe statutes avayle without penaltyes, or lawes without charge of execution ? for soe ther is another like lawe enacted 3000
against wearing of Irish apparell, but never the more it is observed by any, or executed by them that have the charge : for they in their private discrefions thinke it not fitt to be forced upon the pore wretches of that Countrye, which are not worth the price of English apparell, nor expediente to be practysed against the better sorte, by reason that the Country (say they) doe yeeld noe better : and were ther better to be had, yet theise were fitter to be used, as
namely, the mantle in travelling, because ther be noe 3010
Innes wher meate or beding might be had, soe that

1. 2981, 'adventured' : 1. 3007, 'abler' : 1. 3011, 'meete bedding.'

his mantle serues him then for a bed: the lether quilted Jacke in jorninge and in Campinge, for that it is fittest to be under his shirte of maile, for any occasion of suddayne service, as ther happen many, and to cover his thine bretch on horsbacke. The great lynnen rowle which the women weare, to keepe ther heades warme after cutting their hayre, which they use in any sicknesse. Besydes ther thicke foulded lynnen shirtes, ther longe sleeved 3020 smocke, ther halfe-sleeved coates, ther filken fillottes, and all the rest, they will devise some coulour for, eyther of necessity, or of antiquity, or of comlynesse.

Eudox. But what coulour soever they alledge, me thinke it is not expedient, that the execution of a lawe once ordayned should be left to the discreffion of the officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, yt should be fulfilled aswell on Englishe as Irishe.

Iren. But they thincke this pricifenes in reformacon of apparell not to be soe materiall, or greatly 3030 pertinent.

Eudox. Yes surely but yt is; for mens apparell is comonly made accordinge to their condicons, and their condicons are oftentimes governed by their garmentes: for the person that is gowned is by his gowne put in mynde of gravitie, and also restrayned from lightnes by the very aptnes of his weede. Therefore yt is wrytten by Aristotle, then when Cyrus had overcome the Lydeans that were a warlike nacon, [and] devised to bringe them to a 3040 more peacable life, he chaunged their apparrell and musicke, and in steade of their shorte warlike coate,

L. 3027, 'judge or officer': L. 3037, 'unaptness.'

clothed them in longe garmentes like wyves, and in steade of their warlike musicke, appointed to them certen lascyviuous layes, and loos gigges, by which in shorte space their mindes were [fo] mollified and abated, that they forgot their former feircenes, and became most tender and effeminate: whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioninge of the mynde and condicions. But 3050
bee [all] these, which you have describied, the fashions of the Irishe weedes?

Iren. Noe: all these which I have rehearsed to you, bee not Irish garmentes, but Englishe; for the quilted leather Jacke is oulde Englishe; for yt was the proper weede of the horseman, as you may reade in Chaucer, where he describeth Sir Thopas apparrell and armor, when he went to fighte against the gyant, which shecklaton, is that kinde of gilden leather with which they use to 3060
Imbroder their Irishe Jackes. And there likewise by all that discripcon yee may see the very fashion and manner of the Irishe horseman most lively sett out, in his longe hose, his shoes of costlie cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I surely thought that that manner had bene kindly Irishe, for yt is farre differinge from that we have nowe; as also all the furniture of his horse, his stronge brasse bytt, his sliding raynes, his shanke 3070
pillyon without stirrappes, his manner of mountinge, his fashion of rydinge, his charginge of speare aloft above hande, [and] the forme of his speare.

Iren. Noe fure ; they bee native Englishe, and brought in by the Englishe men first into Ireland : nether is the fame yet accounted an uncomelie manner of rydinge ; for I have hearde some greate warryors say, that, in all these services which they had seene abroade in forraygne countreyes, they never sawe a more comelie horsfeman then the Irish 3080 man, nor that cometh on more bravely in the charge ; nether is his manner of mountinge unfemely, though he lacke stirrops, but more readie then with styrropes ; for in his gettinge up, his horse is still goinge, whereby he gayneth way. And therefore the styrrup was called foe in scorne, as yt were a stayre to gett up, beinge derived out of the oulde Englishe worde sty, which is, to mounte.

Eudox. It seemeth then that you finde no faulte with this manner of rydinge ; whie then woulde 3090 you have the gilded jacke layed awaye ?

Iren. I would not have that laied away, but the abuse thereof to bee put awaye ; for beinge used to the ende that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a shirte of male, yt is allowable, as also the shirte of mayle, and all his other furniture : but to be worne daylie att home, as in Townes and civill places, yt is a rude habitt and most uncomelie, seeminge like a players painted coote. 3100

Eudox. But yt is worne, they saye, likewise of Irishe footemen ; howe doe you allowe of that ? for I shoulde thinke yt were unseemelye.

L. 3083, 'wante' : l. 3088, 'to gett up, or' : l. 3091, 'quilted' : l. 3101, 'likewise' from Collier, Morris, etc.

Iren. Noe, not as yt is used in warre, for yt is then worne likewise of footmen under their shirts of mayle, the which footmen they call Galloglasses; the which name doth discover him to bee allso auncyent Englishe, for *Gallogla* signifies an Englishe servitor or yeoman. And he being fo armed, in a longe shirte of mayle downe to the calfe of his legge, with a longe broade axe in his hande, was then *pedes gravis armatura*, and was insteade of the armed footeman that nowe weareth a Corselett, before the corselett were used, or allmost invented. 3110

Eudox. Then him belike you allowe in your streight reformacon of oulde customes.

Iren. Both him and the kearne allso (whome only I toke to bee the proper Irishe souldyer) cann I allowe, foe that they use that habite and custome of theires in the warres onely, when they are ledd forth to the service of their Prince, and not usuall[y] at home, and in civill places, and besides doe laye aside the evill wylde uses which the galloglasses and kerne doe use in their evill trade of lief. 3120

Eudox. What be those?

Iren. Marry, these be the most loathlie and barbarous condicions of any people, I thincke, under heaven; for, from the tyme that they enter into that coorse, they doe use all the beastlie behavior that may bee to oppresse all men: they spoile afwell the subjecte as the enemye; they steale, they are cruell 3130

ll. 3105-6, 'under . . . footmen,' and ll. 3107-8, 'for . . . Englishe,' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 3117, 'common':
'lothsome.'

and bloodye, full of revenge, and delighte in deadlye execucon, licentious, fwearers, and blasphemers, comon ravishers of weomen, and murtherers of children.

Eudox. Those bee most villanous condicions; I mervayle then that ever they bee used or imployed, or allmost suffered to lyve: what good cann there bee then in them?

3140

Iren. Yet sure they are very valiaunt, and hardye, for the most parte greate endurors of colde, labor, hunger, and all hardnes, very actyve and stronge of hande, verye swyfte of foote, very vigilant and circumspecte in their enterprises, very present in perills, very greate scorers of death.

Eudox. Truelie, by this that yee saye, yt seemes the Irishman is a very brave souldier.

Iren. Yea truelie, eaven in that rude kinde of service hee beareth himselfe very couragiouſlie. But 3150 where he cometh to experience of service abroad, or is putt to a peece, or a pyke, he maketh as worthie a souldier as any nacon he meeteth with. But lett us I pray you turne againe to our discourſe of evill customes amongest the Irishe.

Eudox. Me seemes, all this which you speake of, concerneth the Customes amongest the Irishe very materially; for their uses in warre are of noe ſmale importance to be confidered, aswell to reforme those which are evill, as to confirme and contynew those 3160 which are good. But followe you your owne coorse, and shewe what other their Customes you have to dislike of.

l. 3143, 'hardines': l. 3149, 'surely': l. 3156, 'thinks.'

Iren. There is amongest the Irishe, a certen kinde of people called the bardes, which are to them insteade of Poetts, whose profession is to sett forth the prayfes and disprayfes of men in their Poems or rymes; the which are had in soe high regarde and estimacon amongest them, that none dare displeafe them for feare to runne into reproach 3170 through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verses are taken up with a generall applause, and usuallie sonnge att all feaste meetings, by certen other persons whose proper function that is, which also receave for this same, greate rewardes, and reputacon besides.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them, which I would otherwise have thought to have ben worthie of good accompte, and rather to have ben 3180 mayntayned and augmented amongest them, then to have ben disliked? for I have reade that in all ages Poetts have bene had in specyall reputacon, and that me seemes not without greate cause; for besides their sweete invencons, and most wyttie layes, they are alwayes used to sett forth the praises of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the bad and vicious. Soe that many brave younge mindes have oftentimes, through the hearinge the prayfes and famous Eulogies of 3190 worthie men songe and reported unto them, benn stirred up to affecte the like comendacons, and soe to stryve unto the like desertes. Soe they say

1. 3168, '*request*': 1. 3186, '*prayfes of the*' in Collier, Morris, etc.

that the Lacedemonians were more enclnyed to desire of honor with the excellent verses of the Poett Tyртеus, then with all the exhortacons of their Capitaines, or authorities of their rulers and Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true that such Poettes, as in their wrytinge doe labor to better the Manners 3200 of men, and through the sweete bayte of their numbers, to steale into the younge spirittes a desire of honor and vertue, are worthy to be had in greater respect. But these Irish bards are for the most parte of another mynde, and soe far from instructinge younge men in Morrall discipline, that they themselves doe more deserve to be sharplie decyplined; for they seldome use to chuse unto themselves the doinges of good men, for the ornamentes of their poems, but whomesoever they finde to be most 3210 lycentious of lief, most bolde and lawles in his doinges, most daungerous and desperate in all partes of disobedience and rebellious disposicon, him they sett up and glorifie in their rymes, him they prayse to the people, and to younge men make an example to followe.

Eudox. I mervayle what kinde of speeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to prayse such lewde persons as lyve so lawleslie and licentiouslie upon stealthes and spoiles, as most of them doe; or 3220 howe can they thincke that any good mynde will applaude the same?

Iren. There is none soe bad, Eudoxus, but that

l. 3201, 'of men' from Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 3203, 'are worthy,' *ibid.* : l. 3222, 'applause or approve,' *ibid.*

shall finde some to fauor his doinges ; but fuch
 licentious partes as thefe, tendinge for the moft parte
 to the hurte of the Englifh, or mayntenance of their
 owne lewd libertye, they themfelves, beinge moft
 defirous therto, doe moft allowe. Befides thefe
 euill thinges beinge deckt and fuborned with the
 gay attyre of goodlie wordes, may eafilie deceave and 3230
 carry awaye the affeccion of a younge mynde, that
 is not well stayed, but defirous by fome bolde
 adventure to make profe of himfelfe ; for beinge
 (as they all bee) brought up iddlelie, without awe of
 parents, without precepts of mafters, without feare
 of offence, not beinge directed, nor imployed in anye
 coorfe of lief, which may carry them to vertue, will
 eafilie be drawn to followe fuch as any fhall fett
 before them : for a younge mynde cannot reft ; yf
 he bee not ftill bufied in fome goodnes, he will 3240
 finde himfelfe fuch bufines as fhall foone bufye all
 about him. In which yf he fhall finde any to prayfe
 him, and to geve hym encoragement, as thofe
 Bardes and rymers doe for little rewarde, or a fhare
 of a ftollen cowe, then waxeth he moft inſolent and
 halfe mad with the love of himfelfe, and his owne
 lewde deedes. And as for wordes to fett forth
 fuch lewdenes, yt is not hard for them to geve a
 goodlie glofe and paynted shoue thereunto, borrowed
 even from the prayfes which are proper unto vertue 3250
 yt felfe. As of a moft notorius theife and wicked
 outlawe, which had lyved all his tyme of ſpoiles and
 robberies, one of their Bardes in his praife findes,
 That he was none of thofe idle mylkeſoppes that

1. 3229, 'attired' (Collier) : l. 3253, 'will /ay.'

was brought up by the fyer fide, but that moft of his dayes he fpent in armes and valiant enterprifes ; that he did never eate his meate before he had wonne yt with his fworde ; that he laye not flugginge all night in a cabben under his mantle, but ufed comonly to kepe others wakinge to defend their lyves, and did light his Candle at the flame of their howfes to leade him in the darknes ; that the day was his night, and the night his daye ; that he loved not to lye longe woinge of wenches to yealde to him, but where he came he toke by force the spoile of other mens love, and left but lamentacon to their lovers ; that his muficke was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the Cryes of people, and claffinge of armor ; and that fynally, he died not wayled of manye, but [made] many wayle when he died, that dearlye bought his death. Doe you not thinke, Eudoxus, that many of thefe prayfes might be applied to men of beft desert ? yet are they all yeilded to moſte notable traytors, and amongeft ſome of the Irifh not ſmallye accompted of. For the ſame, when yt was firſt made and ſoung vnto a perſon of high degree, they were bought as their manner is, for fortie crownes. 3260

Eudox. And well worth ſure. But tell me I pray you, have they any arte in their compoſicons ? or be they any thinge wyttie or well favored, as poems ſhoulde be ? 3280

Iren. Yea truly ; I haue cauſed diuers of them to be tranſlated unto me that I might underſtande them ; and ſurelye they favored of ſweete witt and good invencon, but ſkilled not of the goodly orna-

mentes of Poetrie: yet were they sprinckled with some prettye flowers of theire owne naturall devise, which gave good grace and comlines unto them, the which yt is greate pittye to see soe good an ornament abused, to the gracinge of wickednes and vice, which woulde with good usage serve to bewtifie and adorne vertue. This evill custome therefore needeth reformaton. And nowe next after the Irish Kerne, me seemes the Irish Horfe boyes woulde come well in order, the use of which though necessarye (as tymes nowe bee) doe enforce, yet in the reformaton of that Realme they shoulde be cutt of. For the cause whie they must bee nowe permitted is the wante of convenient innes for lodginge of travellers on 3 horfbacke, and of Ostelers to tende theire horfes by the waye. But when thinges shalbe reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed; for out of the frye of these rakehelly horseboyes, growinge up in knavery and villany, are theire kerne contynewally supplied and mayntayned. For hauinge benn once brought up an idle horseboye, he will never after falle to labor, but is only made fitt for the halter. And these allso (the which is one fowle over-sight) are for the most parte bred up 3 amongest Englishmen, and Souldyers, of whome learninge to shoote a peece, and beinge made acquainted with all the trades of the Englishe, they are afterwarde, when they become kerne, made more fytt to cutt theire throates. Next to this there is another much like, but much more lewde and dishonest; and that is, of theire Carrowes, which

l. 3295, 'boyes or Cuilles': l. 3297, 'the thorough': l. 3317, 'Kearroghs.'

is a kinde of people that wander up and downe gentlemens howses, lyvinge only upon Cardes and dyce, the which, though they have little or nothinge 3320 of their owne, yet will they playe for much moneye, which if they wynde, they waste most lightlie, and yf they loose, they paye as slenderlye, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose only hurte is not, that they themselves are Idle Loffelles, but that through gayminge they drawe others to like lewdnes and idlenes. And to these maye bee added another sorte of like loose fellowes, which doe passe up and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Jesters, but are in deede notable Roges, and 3330 partakers not only of many stealthes by settinge forth other mens goodes to bee stollen, but also pryvie to many trayterous practizes, and common Carryers of newes, with defier whereof you woulde wonder howe muche the Irishe are fedd: for they use commonly to sende up and downe to knowe newes, and yf any meete another, his second worde is, What newes? In soe much that hereof is toulde a pretty jest of a Frenchman, whose havinge bene sometyme in Ireland, where he marked their greate 3340 enquirye for newes, and meetinge afterwarde in Fraunce an Irishman whome he knewe in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwarde thus merelye: Sir, I praye you (quoth he) tell me of curtesie, have you hearde yet any thinge of the newes that ye so much enquired for in your Countrye?

Eudox. This argueth fure in them a greate defier of innovacon, and therefore these occasions which norishe the same are to be taken awaye, as namelie,

these Jesters, Carrowes, Mora-shite, and all such 3350
 straglers, for whom me seemes the shorte riddance
 of a Marshall were meeter then any ordinance or
 prohibicon to restrayne them. Therefore, I praye you,
 leave all this brablement of such loose Runnagates,
 and passe to some other Customes.

Iren. There is a greate use amonge the Irishe, to
 make greate assemblies together upon a Rath or
 hill, there to parlie (as they saye) about matters and
 wronges betwene Towneship and Towneship, or one
 private person and another. But well I wott, that 3360
 knowe, yt hath bene oftentimes approved, that in
 these meetinges many mischeifes have benn both
 practized and wrought: for to them doe commonly
 resort all the scumme of loose people, where they
 may frelie meete and conferre of what they list,
 which ells they could not doe without suspicon or
 knowledge of others. Besides, at these parlies I have
 divers tymes knowen that many Englishmen, and
 other good Irishe subjectes, have benn villanouslie
 murdered, by movinge one quarrell or another 3370
 amongest them. For the Irishe never come to
 those Rathes but armed, whether on horsebacke or
 on foote, which the English nothinge suspectinge, are
 then commonly taken at advantagge like sheepe in the
 pynfolde.

Eudox. It may bee Iren: that abuse maye bee in
 these meetings. But these rounde hilles and square
 bawnes, which you see soe stronglie trenched and
 throwen up, were (they saye) at first ordayned for

l. 3350, '*Beantvoilles*'; Todd and Collier have '*Mona-shules*.' See
 Glossary, s.v. : l. 3364, '*base*.'

the same purpose, that people mighte assemble them- 3380
selves thereon ; and therefore auncientlye they were
called Folkmotes, that is, a place for people to
meete or talke of any thinge that concerned any
difference betwene parties and Towneshipes, which
seemeth yet to me very requisite.

Iren. You say very true, Eudox: the first makinge
of these high hilles was at first indeede to very good
purpose for people to meete ; but though the tymes
when they were first made, might well serve to good
occasions, as perhappes they did then in England, 3390
yet thinges being since altred, and nowe Ireland
much differing from that state of England, the goode
use that then was of them is nowe turned to abuse ;
for those hills wherof you speake, were (as ye may
gather by reading) appointed for two special uses, and
built by two severall nations. The one are those which
you call Folke-motes, the which were builte by the
Saxons, as the woorde bewraieth ; for it signifieth in
Saxone a meeting of folke or people, and those are
for the most parte in forme fower square, well trenched 3400
for the meetinge of that [blank]. The others that
are rounde, were cast up by the Danes, as the name
of them doth betoken ; for they are called Daneraths,
that is, hilles of the Danes, the which were by them
devised, not for parlies and Treaties, but appointed as
fortes for them to gather unto in troblefome tyme,
when any tumult arose ; for the Danes, beinge but
a fewe in comparison of the Saxons, used this for

ll. 3391-2, '*yet . . . England,*' and ll. 3394-9, '*hilles . . . and
those,*' not in MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 3407, '*trouble*':
l. 3408, '*Saxons in England*.'

theire safetie. They made theſe ſmale rounde hilles, ſo ſtronglye fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, 3410 to the ende that yf in the night, or at any other tyme, any crye or uprore ſhoulde happen, they might repayre with all ſpeede unto theire owne forte, which was appointed for theire quarter, and there remayne ſayfe, tyll they coulde aſſemble themſelves in greate ſtrengthe: for they were made ſo ſtronge, with one ſmale entrance, that whoſoever came thither firſt, were he one or twoe, or like fewe, he or they might reſt ſaife, and defend themſelves againſt manie, tyll 3420 more ſuccor came unto them; and when they were gathered to a ſufficient nombre they marched to the next fort, and ſo forward tyll they mett with the perill, or knewe the occaſion thereof. But beſides theſe twoe fortes of hilles, there were auncientlie divers others; for ſome were rayſed, where there had bene a greate battayle, as a memorye or trophes thereof; others, as monuments of buryalls of the carcasses of all thoſe that were ſlaine in any fyghte, upon whome they did throwe up ſuch rounde mounts, as memorialls for them, and ſometimes did caſt up 3430 great heapes of ſtones, as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture, and other whiles they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long ſtones on ende in compaſſe, every of which they ſay, betokened ſome worthie perſon of note there ſlayne and buried; for this was theire auncyent cuſtome, before Chriſtianitie came in amongeſt them that church-yardest were incloſed.

l. 3412, '*any troubles crye*': ll. 3431-4, '*as . . . long*' from
 'is, etc.

Eudox. Yee have very well declared the originall of these mountes and greate stones encompassed, 3440 which some vaynely terme the olde Gyants Tryvetts, and thincke that these huge stones woulde not ells bee brought into order or reared up without the strengthe of gyants. And others as vaynelie thincke that they were never placed there by mans hand or arte, but only remayned there since the beginninge, and were afterwards discovered by the deluge, and layed open by the washinge of the waters, or other like casualltye. But lett them dreame their owne 3450 imaginacons to please themselves; but yee have satisfied me much better, both by that I see some confirmacon thereof in the Holy Wrytt, and also remember that I have red in many historyes and Cronicles the like mounts and stones oftentimes menconed.

Iren. There bee many greate authorities, I assure you, to prove the fame; but as for these meetings on hilles, whereof wee were speakinge, yt is verie inconvenient that any such shoulde be permitted, specially in a people soe evill mynded as they nowe 3460 bee and diverslie shewe themselves.

Eudox. But yt is very needefull me seemes for many other purpofes, as for the countrie to gather together when there is any impoficon to be laied upon them, to the which they then all agree att such meetings to cutt and devide upon themselves, accordinge to their holdinges and abilities. Soe as yf att these assemblies there bee any officers, as Constables, Bayliffes, or such like amongst them, there cann be noe perill or doubte of such bad practises.

l. 3449-50, 'lett them with their dreames and vayne imaginations please.'

Iren. Nevertheless, daungerous are such assemblies, 3470
whether for cesse or ought ells, the Constables and
Officers beinge also of the Irishe; and yf there
happen there to bee of the English, even to them
they may proue perillous. Therefore for avoydinge
of all such evill occasions, they were best to be
abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call cesse? yt
is a word sure unused amongst us here; therefore I
pray you expounde the same.

Iren. Cesse is none other but that your selfe called 3480
imposicon, but yt is in a kinde unacquainted per-
happes unto you. For there are cesses of sondry
fortes; one the cessinge of souldiors upon the
country; for Ireland beinge a country of warr as
yt is handled, and all wayes full of souldyors, they
which have the goverment, whether they finde yt
the most ease to the Queenes purse, or most ready
meanes at hande for the victualinge of souldiors, or
that necessitie enforceth them thereunto, doe scatter
the army abroad the country, and place them in 3490
townes to take their victualls of them, att such
vacant tymes as they lye not in campe, nor are
otherwise employed in service. Another kinde of
Cesse, is the imposinge of provision for the Governors
house keepinge, which though yt be most necessary,
and be also, for avoyding of all the evilles formerly
therein used, lately brought to a composicon, yet yt
is not without greate inconveniences, no lesse then
here in England, or rather much more. The like
Cesse is also charged upon the country sometymes 3500

1. 3491, 'villages' (Collier).

for victuallinge of the fouldyors, when they lie in garrison, at such tymes as when there is none remayninge in the Queenes store, or that the same cannot convenientlie bee conveyed to their place of garrison. But these twoe are not easie to be redressed when necessity thereto compelleth; but as the former, as yt is not necessary, soe yt [is] most hurtfull and offensyve to the poore Country, and nothinge convenient to the fouldyor himselfe, whoe during his lyinge at Cesse, useth all kinde of outrageous disorder and villanie, both towards the poore men that victell and lodge them, and also to all the rest of the Country round about them, whome they abuse, spoile, and afflict by all the meanes [they] can invent: for they will not only not content themselves with such victualls as their hostes doe provide them, nor yet as the place will afford, but they will have their meate provided for them, and *aqua vitae* sent for; yea and money besides layed at his trencher, which yf he wante, then about the howse he walketh with the wretched poore man and the sillye poore wief, whoe are glade to purchase their peace with any thinge. By which vyle manner of abuse, the country people, yea and the very English which dwell abroad and see, and sometimes feele these outrages, growe into greate detestation of the fouldyor, and thereby into hatred of the very goverment, which draweth upon them such evilles: And therefore this yee may also joyne with the former evill customes which yee haue to reprove in Ireland.

1. 3514, 'abuse, oppress and.'

Eudox. Trulie this is one not the least, and though the persons, of whom yt is used be of better note then the former rogish forte which yee reckoned, yet the faulte [is] no lesse worthye of a Marshall.

Iren. That were a hard corse, Eudoxus, to redres every abuse by a Marshall: yt would seeme to you evill surgery to cutt of every unsounde sicke parte of the body, which, beinge by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good service to 3540 the body againe, and haply helpe to fave the whole: Therefore I thincke better that some good salve for redres of this evill be sought forth, then the least parte suffred to perishe. But hereof wee have to speake in another place. Nowe we will proceede to the other like defectes, amonge which there is one generall inconvenience which rayneth allmoſt throughout all Ireland: and that of the Lords of land, and fre-holders, whoe doe not there use to sett out their lands to farme, or for terme of yeres, to their tenants, 3550 but only from yere to yere, and some during pleasure; nether indeede will the Irishe tenant or husband otherwise take his lande then so longe as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the landlords there use most shamefully to racke their tenants, layinge upon him coygnie and livery at pleasure, and exactinge of him besides his covenant, what he please. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tyme, or that he thinketh by his continuall libertie 3560 of chainge to keepe his landlorde the rather in awe from wronginge of him. And the reason whie the

ll. 3540-1, 'afterwards . . . haply' from Collier, Morris, etc.

landlord will not longer covenante with him is, for that he daylie looketh for chainge and alteracon, and hovereth in expectacon of newe worldes.

Eudox. But what evill cometh hereby to the comonwealth? or what reason is yt that any landlord should not sett, nor any tefiante take his land as himselfe list?

Iren. Marry, the evilles that cometh hereby are 3570
greate, for by this meanes both the landlord thinketh that he hath his tefiante more at commaund, to followe him into what accon soever he will enter, and allso the tefiant, beinge left at his liberty, is fitt for every variable occasion of chainge that shalbe offered by tyme: and so much allso the more willinge and ready is hee to runne into the same, for that he hath no such estate in any his holdinge, no suche buyldinge upon any farme, no such costs ymployed in fencing and husbandinge the same, as might with- 3580
holde him from any such willfull corse, as his lords cause, and his owne lewde disposicon may carry him unto. All which he hath forborne, and spared soe much expence, for that he had no former estate in his tenement, but was only a tefiante at will or little more, and soe at will may leave yt. And this inconvenience maye be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of a Comon-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any landlord that shall refuse to graunte any such terme or estate unto 3590
his tefiante as may tend to the good of the whole Realme.

l. 3570, 'thereby': l. 3571, 'meane': l. 3573, 'shall': l. 3582, 'or':
l. 3584, 'firme.'

Eudox. Indeede me seemes yt is a greate willfullnes in any such landlord to refuse to make any longer farmes to their tenants, as may, besides the generall good of the Realme, be also greatly for their owne profit and avayle: For what reasonable man will not thinke that the tenement shalbe made much the better for the lords behoofe, yf the tenant may by such meanes be drawn to buylde himselfe 3600 some handsome habitacon thereof, to dytch and enclose his ground, to manure and husband yt as good farmers use? For when his tenants terme shalbe expired, yt will yeilde him, in the renewinge his lease, both a good fyne, and also a better rente. And also it wil be for the good of the tenent likewise, whoe by such buyldinges and inclosures shall receave many benefitts: first, by the handsonenes of his howse, he shall take greate comforte of his lief, more saife dwellinge, and a delight to keepe his 3610 saide howse neate and cleanelly, which nowe beinge, as they comonly are, rather swyne-steades then howses, is the chiefeft cause of his soe beastlie manner of life, and saluaige condicon, lyinge and lyvinge together with his beaste in one howse, in one rowme, and in one bed, that is the cleane strawe, or rather the fowle dounghill. And to all these other comodities he shall in shorte tyme finde a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches encreased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keepinge 3620 his cattle in enclosures, where they shall allwayes have fresh pasture, that nowe is all trampled and

³⁶⁰⁰, '*such good*': L. 3606, '*And . . . be*' from Collier, Morris, 3608, '*his*' in our MS., miswritten.

over runne; warme cover, that nowe lyeth open to all weather; faife beinge, that nowe are contynually filched and stollen.

Iren. Yee have well, Eudoxus, accompted the comodities of this one good ordinance, amongst which this that yee have named last is not the leaste: for all thother beinge most beneficiall both to the Landlord and the tenantes, this chiefly 3630 redoundeth to the good of the commonwealth, to have the lande thus inclosed, and well fenced. For yt is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theves from stealinge of cattle in the night, and allso a gaule against all rebelles and outlawes, that shall rise up in any nombers against government; for the theefe thereby shall have much adooe, first to bringe forth, and afterwards to dryve [away] his stollen pray but through the common high wayes, where he shall soone bee descryed and mett wythall: And the 3640 rebell or open enemye, yf any fuche shall happen, either at home, or from abroad, shall easilie be founde when he cometh forth, and be well encountered withall by a fewe in foe straight passages and stronge enclosures. This, therefore, when we come to the reforminge of all these evill customes before menconed, is needefull to be remembred. But nowe by this tyme me seemes that I have well runne through the evill uses which I have observed in Ireland. Nevertheles I will note that many more 3650 there bee, and infinitely many more in the private

1. 3626, 'counted': l. 3650 sq., 'And howbeit there be many more abuses woorthie the reformation both in publicke and in private amongst them, yet these, for that they are the more generall,' etc. (Morris).

abuses of men. But those that are most generall and tendinge to the hurte of the common wealth, they have come to my remembrance, I have breifly as I could rehearsed unto you. And therefore I thincke best that wee passe to our third parte, in which wee noted inconvenience that is religion.

Eudox. Surelie you have very well handled the twoe former, and yf you shall as well goe thorough the thirde likewise, yee shall meritt a very good meede.

Iren. Little have I to saye of religion, because the partes thereof bee not many, yt so beinge but one, and my selfe have not beene much conversant in that callinge, but as light passinge bye I have seene or hearde: Therefore the faulte which I finde in religion is but one, but the same universall thoroughout all the countrye; that is, that they are all Papists, theire profession, but in the same soe blind and brutishlie informed, for the most parte, as though you would rather thincke them Atheists or Infidels, for not one amongst an hundred knoweth a ground of religion, and any Article of his sayeth but canne perhappes say his pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one worde thereof meaneth.

Eudox. This is truly a moste pyttifull hearing that so many fowles shulde falle into the Devils handes at once and lacke the blessed comfort of the sweete gospell and Christs deare passy-

l. 3657, 'inconveniencies . . . are': l. 3673, 'for' is miswritten 'i' in our MS.

Aye me, how cometh yt to passe, that beinge a people, as they are, tradinge with soe many nacons and frequented of soe many, yet they have not tasted any parte of those happie Joyes, nor once bene lightned with the morning starre of truth, but lye mellinge in such sperituall darknes hard by hell mouthe, eaver ready to fall in, yf God happilie helpe not?

Iren. The generall faulte cometh not of any late abuse either in the people or their priests, whoe can teach [noe] better then [they] knowe, nor showe noe more light than they have seene, but in the first instruccon, and planting religion in all that Realme, which was I reade in the tyme of Pope Calestine, whoe, as yt is wrytten, did first sende ouer thether Pallidaius, whoe thence decreafinge, he afterwards sent over St. Patricke, beinge by nacon a Brytton, whoe converted the people, beinge then infidelles, from paganisme, and Christened them: in which Popes tyme and longe before, yt is certen that religion was generally corrupted with their popish trumpery. Therefore what other could they learne, then suche trashe as was taught them and drinke of that Cuppe of fornicacon [with] which the purple harlott had then made all nacons drounken?

Eudox. What, doe you then blame and finde faulte with soe good an acte in that good Pope, as the reducinge of such a greate people to Christendome, bringinge soe many fowles to Christe? yf that were ill, what is good?

l. 3687, 'weltring': l. 3694, 'institution.'

Iren. I doe not blame the Christendome of them: for to bee sealed with the marke of the Lambe, by what hand soe ever yt bee done rightlie, I hould yt a good and gracious marke, for the generall profession which [they] then take upon them at the Crosse and sayth in Christe. I nothinge doubt but through the powerfull grace of that mighty Savior [it] will worke salvacon in many 3720 of them. But nevertheless since they drouncke not of the pure springe of life, but only tasted of such troubled waters as were brought unto them, the dragges thereof have brought a greate Contagion in their fowles, the which daylie encreafinge and beinge still more augmented with their owne lewde lyves and filthie conversacon, hath nowe breed in them this generall disease that cannot but only with very stronge purgacons, bee clenfed and carried awaye.

Eudox. Then for this defecte you finde no faulte with the people themselves, nor with the preists which take the charge of fowles, but with the first ordinance and institucon thereof. 3730

Iren. Not so, Eudox: for the sinne or ignorance of the preiste shall not excufe the people, nor the authoritie of their greate pastor, Peters successor, shall not excufe the preiste, but they all shall dye in their finnes: for they have all erred and gone out of the waye together.

Eudox. But yf this ignorance of the people bee such a burthen unto the Pope, is yt not a like blott to them that nowe holde that place, in 3740

l. 3713, 'christening': l. 3724, 'bredd.'

that they which nowe are in the light themselves suffer a people under their charge to wallowe in such deadly darkenes? for I doe not see that the fault is changed but the faultynes.

Iren. That which you blame, Eudoxus, is not I suppose any fault of will in these godly fathers which have charge thereof, nor any defecte of 3750 zeale for reformation, but the inconvenience of the tyme and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched Realme hath bene continually turmoyled; for instructioun in religion needeth quiett tymes, and ere wee seeke to settle a sounde discipline in the cleargie, wee must purchase [peace] unto the laytie, for yt is yll tyme to preach amongst swords, and most hard, or rather ympossible, yt is to settle a good opinion in the myndes of men for matters of religion doubtful, which have 3760 doubtful evill opinion of ourselves; for ere a newe be brought in, the olde must be removed.

Eudox. Then belike yt is meete that some fitter tyme bee attended, that God sende peace and quietnes there in Civill matters before yt be attempted in ecclesiasticall. I would rather have thought that as yt is said, correctioun shoulde begynne at the howse of God, and that the care of the soule should have bene preferred before the care of the bodye.

3770

Iren. Most true, Eudoxus, the care of the soule and soule matters are to be preferred before the care of the body, in consideracon of the worthines thereof, but not in the tyme of reformation; for

yf you shoulde knowe a wicked person dangerouſlie ficke, havinge nowe both fowle and body greatly diſeaſed, yet both recoverable, would you not thincke yt ill advertiſement to bringe the preacher before the phiſicon? for yf his body were neglected, yt is like that his languifhing fowle being 3780 diſquieted by his diſeaſefull body, would utterly reſuſe and loath all ſpiritual comfort. But yf his body were firſt recured, and brought to good frame, ſhould there not then bee founde beſt tyme to recure his fowle alſo? Soe yt is in the ſtate of a Realme: Therefore as I faide yt is expedient, firſt to ſettle ſuch a coorſe of government there, as thereby both Civill diſorders and eccleſiaſticall abuſes may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any ſuch greate diſtance of tymes, 3790 as yee ſuppoſe I requier, but one joynte reſolucon for both, that each might ſecond and confirme the other.

Eudox. That wee ſhall ſee when wee come thereto: in the meane tyme I conſider thus much, as you have delyvered, touchinge the generall faulte which yee ſuppoſe in religion, to weete, that it is popiſhe; but doe you finde no particular abuſes therein, in the miniſters thereof?

Iren. Yes verilie; for what ever diſorders yee 3800 ſee in the Church of England yee may finde there, and many more: namelie, groſſe ſymonie, greedy covetouſnes, fleſhlie incontinence, careles ſlough, and generally all diſordered lief in the comon clergiem. And beſides all theſe, they have theire owne particular enormities; for all

the Irishe preifts, which now enjoye the church lyvings there, are in a manner meere laymen, foe like Laymen [that they] lyve like laymen, followe all kindes of husbandrye and other worldly affaires, as 3810 the other Irishe laymen doe. They nether reade fcriptures, nor preach to the people, nor mynifter the Sacrament of Communion; but the Baptisme they doe, for they chriften yet after the popish fafhion, and with the popish lattine myniftracon, only they take the tythes and offeringes, and gather what fruits ells they may of theire lyvinge; the which they convert as badly. And fome of them they faye pay as due tributts and fhares of theire lyving to their Bifhoppes, (I fpeake of thofe which 3820 are Irifh) as they receive them dulye.

Eudox. But is that fuffered amongeft them? It is wonder but that the governors redres fuch shamefull abufes.

Iren. Howe can they, fince they knowe them not? for the Irishe Bifhops have theire cleargie in fuch awe and fubjeccion under them, that they dare not complaine of them, foe as they may doe to them what they pleafe, for they knowinge theire owne unworthynes and incapacitie, 3830 and that they are therefore removable att theire bifhops will, yeilde what pleafeth him, and he taketh what he lifteth: yea, and fome of them whofe dyocefes are in remote partes, fomewhat out of the worldes eye, doe not att all beftowe the benefices, which are in theire owne devocon,

l. 3808, '*laymen, faving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwife,*' etc. (Collier): l. 3836, '*donation.*'

upon any, but keepe them in their owne hands, and sett their owne seruants and horseboyes to take up the Tythes and fraucts of them, with the which some of them purchase greate lands, and 3840
buyldde fayre castells upon the same. Of which abuse yf any question bee moved, they have a very seemelie coulour of excuse, that they have no worthie mynisters to bestowe them upon, but keepe them for unbeftowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bringe unto them.

Eudox. But is there no lawe or ordinance to meete with this mischeife? nor hath yt never before benne looked into?

Iren. Yes, it seemes yt hath; for there is a 3850
statute there enacted in Ireland, which seemes to have benn grounded upon a good meaninge—That whatfoever Englishman beinge of good conuerfacon and sufficiency, shalbee brought unto any of those Byshops, and nominated unto any lyvinge within their dyoces that is presently voide, that he shall without contradiccon bee admytted thereunto before any Irishe.

Eudox. This is surelie a very good lawe, and well provided for this evill, whereof yee speake: 3860
and whie is not the same observed?

Iren. I thincke yt is well observed, and that none of the bishops transgres the same, but yet yt worketh no reformacon hereof for many respects. First there are no such sufficient Englishhe mynisters sent over as might bee presented to any byshop for any lyvinge, but the moste parte of such Englishhe as come over thither of them selves are

either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England. So as the 3870
Bisshop, to whome they shalbe presented, may justly reiecte them as incapable and insufficient. Secondly, the Bisshop himselfe is perhappes an Irishe man, whoe beinge made judge by that lawe of the sufficiency of the mynister, may at his owne will, dislike of the Englishman, as unworthye in his opinion, and admytt of any other Irishe whome he shall thincke more fitt for his turne. And yf he shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whome he will not displease, 3880
accept of any such Englishe minister as shalbe tendred unto him, yet he will under hand carry such a hard hande over him, or by his officers wring him so fore, that he will soone make him weary of his poore lyvinge. Lastlye, the benefices themselves are so meane, and of soe smale proffitt in those Irishe cuntryes, through the ill husbandry of the Irishe people which inhabite them, that they will not yeilde any competent mayntenance for any honest mynister to lyve upon, scarcely to 3890
buy him a gowne. And were all this redressed, as happely yt might bee, yet what good should any Englishe mynister doe amongst them, by preachinge or teachinge which either cannot understande him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of lief shall he have, where his parishioners are soe infacyable, soe intractable, soe ill-affected to him, as they usually bee to all the English?

l. 3878, 'meete': ll. 3883-4, 'or . . . wring him' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 3897, 'unsociable.'

or fynally, how dare almost any honeste myniste that are peacefull civill men, comit his saifetie the handes of fuche neighbors, as the bold captaines dare scarfelye dwell by ?

Eudox. Little good then I see is by that statute wrought, howe ever well intended ; but the reformation thereof must growe higher, and be brought from a stronger ordinance then the commaundement penaltye of a lawe, which none dare enforce complaine of when yt is broken : but have you any more of these abuses in the cleargie ?

Iren. I coulde perhappes reckon more, but perceave mye speach to growe to longe, and that may suffice to judge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them ; as for the particulers, they are too manie to bee reckoned. For the cleargie there except some fewe grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some others which are lately planted in their new colledge, are generally bad, lycentious, and most disordered.

Eudox. Yee have then, as I suppose, gone through these three first partes which ye purposed unto yourselfe, to wyte, the inconveniences which ye observe in the lawes, in the customes, and in the religion of that Land. The which me seemes, you have thoroughly touched, as that nothinge more remayne nowe to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as ye suppose, though nothinge more can remayne, but for generally as purpoist ; that is, to lay open the generall evilsles that realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof ; for to accounte the particuler faultes

private men, should be a worke infinite; yet some there bee of that nature, that though they bee in pryvate men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurte, as the extorcon of sheriffes, subsheriffes, and their bayliffes, the corrupcon of victuallers, cessors, and purveyors, the disorders of shenescalles, captaines, and their fouldyers, and many such like: All which I wil only name here, that their reformacon may bee mynded in place where yt moste concerneth. But there is one very foule abuse which, by the waye, 3940 I may not omitt, and that is in captaines, whoe notwithstanding that they are specyallie employed to make peace thorough stronge execucon of warre, yet they doe soe dandle their doinges, and dally in their service to them comytted, as yf they would not have the enemye subdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare leaste afterwards they should neede imployment, and soe be discharged of paye: for which cause some of them that are layed in Garrison doe so handle the matter, that they will doe noe greate hurte to 3950 the enemyes, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even halfe with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heades eftsones they sende in to the Governor for a commendacon of their greate endeavors, telling howe waightie a service they have performed by cuttinge of such and such daingerous Rebelles.

Eudox. Trulye this is a pretty mockerye, and not to be permitted by the Governors.

Iren. Yes, but how cann the Governors knowe 3960

l. 3931, '*worke too*': ll. 3951-3, '*yet . . . enemy*' from Collier, Morris, etc.

readily what persons those weare, and what the purpose of their killinge was? yea, and what will yee saye, if the captaines doe justifie this their course by ensample of some of their Governors, whome, under Benedicite, I doe tell yt to you, doe practise the like sleights in their governments?

Eudox. Is yt possible? Take heed what you saye, Irenius.

Iren. To you, you only, Eudoxus, I doe tell yt, and that even with greates greife, and inward trouble of mynde, to see her Majestie so much abused by some whome they put in specyall trust of their affayres: of which some, beinge marshall men, will not doe allwayes what they may for quietinge of things, but will rather wincke at some faultes, and suffer them unpunished, leaste they havinge put all thinges in that assurance of peace that they might, they shoulde seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so greates a charge to her Majestie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hande to another doe bandy the service like a Tennys-balle, which they will never strike quite awaye, for feare leaste afterwards they should want sportes. 3970 3980

Eudox. Doe you speake of under magistrates, Irenius, or of principall governors?

Iren. I doe speake of noe particulars, but the truth may be founde out by tryall and reasonable insighte into some of their doinges. And yf I should saye there is some blame thereof in some of 3990

l. 3966, miswritten 'right' in our MS.: l. 3972, 'Ac.'

the principall Governors, I thincke I might allso shewe some reasonablen proffe of my speach. For by that which I and many have observed, the like might be gathered. As for ensample, some of them feinge the ende of their government to drawe nighe, and some mischeefe or troublous practife growinge up, which afterwards may worke trouble to the next succeding governor, will not attempt the redres or cuttinge of thereof, either for feare they shoulde leave 4000 the Realme unquiet att the ende of their government, or that the next that cometh shoulde receive the same to quiett, and soe happely wyne more prayse thereof then they before. And therefore they will not as I say, seeke at all to redres. that evill, but will eyther by graunting proteccion for a tyme, or houldinge some enparlance with the rebell, or by treaty of commissiouners, or other like devises, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischeife, soe as yt may not breake out in their tyme of government : what 4010 comes afterwards they care not, or rather wishe the worst. This coorse hath bene noted in some governors.

Eudox. Surelie Irenius this, yf yt were true, should bee worthy of an heauy judgment: but yt ys hardlye to be thought, that any governor should soe much either envye the good of that realme which is putt into his hande, or defraude her Majestie, whose trusteth him soe much, or maligne his succeffor which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to growe up, which he might tymelye have kept under, 4020 or perhaps to nourishe yt with colloured countenance, or suche synifter meanes.

l. 4015, 'would.'

Iren. I doe not certainly avouch, Eudoxus : but the sequell of thinges doth in a manner prove, and playnely speake foe much, that the governors usually are envyous one of anothers greater glorie, which yf they woulde seeke to excell by better governinge, it shoulde be a most laudable emulacon. But they doe quite otherwise : for this (as yee maye marke,) is the comon order of them, that whoe cometh next 4030 in place will not followe that coorse of government, how ever good, which his predecessor helde, or for desdaine of himselfe, or dowbte to have his doinges drowned in another mans prayse, but will straighte take a way quite contrarye to the former : as yf the former thought by keepiuge under the Irishe, to reforme them, the next, by discontynencinge the Englishe will curry favor with the Irishe and foe make his government seeme plaufable in veiwe, as havinge all the Irishe at his commaund : but he that 4040 comes next after will perhappes follow neither thone nor thother, but will dandle thone and thother in suche sorte, as he will sucke sweete out of them both, and leave bitternes to the poore lande, which yf he that comes after shall seeke to redres, he shall perhappes finde such crosses as he shalbe hardly able to beare, or doe any good that might worke disgrace of his predecessors. Ensamples hereof yee maye see in the governors of late tymes sufficientlie, and in others of former tymes more 4050 manifestlie, when the government of that Realme was comytted sometymes to the Geraldynes, as

1. 4023, '*foe much*' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc., and is not needed.

when the Howse of Yorke helde the Crowne of England; sometymes to the Butlers, as when the Howse of Lancaster gott the same. And other whiles, when an Englishe governor was appointed, he perhappes founde enemies of both. And this is the wretchednes of that fatall kingdome which, I thincke, therefore in old tyme was not called amisse *Ranna* or *Sacra* Infula, takinge *Sacra* for accursed. 4060

Eudox. I am forrie to heare foe much as yee reporte; and nowe I begynne to conceave somewhat more of the cause of her contynuall wretchednes then heretofore I founde, and I wishe that this inconvenience were looked into: for sure me seemes yt is more waightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redressed in the governor then in the governed; as a maladie in a vitall parte is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You saye very true; but nowe that wee 4070 have thus ended all the abuses and inconveniences of that government, which was our first parte, it followes next to speake of the seconde part, which was of the meanes to cure and redres the same, which wee must labor to reduce to the first begynninge thereof.

Eudox. Right foe Irenius: for by that which I have noted in all this your discourse, yee suppose that the whole ordinance and institucon of that realmes government was, both att first when yt was placed, evill plotted, and allso since, through other over- 4080 fighte, rune more out of square, [to] that disorder which yt is nowe come unto; like as twoe indirect

L. 4073, '*that . . . part*' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.

lynnes, the further they are drawn out, the further they goe afunder.

Iren. I doe fee, Eudoxus, and as yee saye, foe thincke, that the longer that goverment thus contynueth, in the worfe case will that Realme bee; for yt is all in vayne that they nowe stryve and endeavor by fayre meanes and peaceable plotts to redres the same without first removinge all those 4090 inconveniences, and newe framinge, as yt were in the forge, all that is worne out of fashon: for all other meanes wilbe but lost labor, by patchinge up one hole to make many; for the Irish doe strongly hate and abhor all reformacon and subjeccon to the Englishe, by reason that, havinge bene once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. Soe as nowe they feare, that yf they were againe brought under, they shoulde likewise be expelled out of all, which is the cause that they hate Englishe goverment, 4100 accordinge to the sayinge, Quem metuunt oderunt: therefore the reformacon must nowe be with the strength of a greater power.

Eudox. But, me thinckes, that might bee by makinge of good lawes, and establisshinge of newe statuts, with sharpe penalties and punishments for amendinge of all that is presently amisse, and not as ye suppose, to begynne all as yt were anewe, and to alter the whole forme of the goverment; which how daingerous a thinge it is to attempte, you 4110 your selfe must needs confesse, and they which have the managinge of the Realmes whole pollycie,

L. 4087, '*course*': ll. 4102-3, '*the strength of*' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.

cannot, without greate cause, feare and refrayne : for all innovacon is perillous, in foe much as though yt be meante for the better, yet foe many accidents and fearefull events maye come betweene, as that it may hazard the losse of the whole.

Iren. Very true, Eudoxus ; all chainge is to be shunde, where the affayres stand in such state as that they may contynue in quietnes, or bee assured at all 4120 to abide as they are. But that in the Realme of Ireland wee see muche otherwise, for every day wee perceave the troubles growinge more upon us, and one evill growinge upon another, in foe much as there is noe parte founde nor ascertayned, but all have theire eares upright, wayting when the watchworde shall come that they shoulde all rise generally into rebellyon, and cast awaye the Englishe subjeccon. To which there nowe little wanteth ; for I thincke the worde be alreadye geven, and there wanteth 4130 nothinge but oportunitie, which trulye is the death of one noble perfon, whoe, beinge himselfe most stedfast to his noble Queene and his Countrie, coastinge upon the Southe Sea, stoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth in all those which are at his backe, with the terror of his greatnes, and thassurance of his most immoveable loyalltye : And therefore where you thincke, that good and founde lawes might amend and reforme thinges amisse there, you thincke surely 4140 amisse. For yt is vayne to prescrib lawes, where no man careth for keepinge of them, nor seareth the

L. 4138, 'honourable': ll. 4142-3, 'nor . . . them' from Collier, Morris, etc.

daunger for breaking of them. But all the realm first to be reformed, and lawes afterwards to be made for keepinge and contynuinge yt in that reformed estate.

Eudox. Howe then doe you thincke is reformation thereof to begynne, yf not by lawes and ordinances?

Iren. Even by the sworde; for all those evils must first be cutt awaye with a stronge hande, before any good can be planted; like as the corrupt branches and unwholsome lawes are first to be pruned, and the fowle mosses clenched or scraped away before the tree can bring forth any good fruit.

Eudox. Doe you blame me, even now, wysshinge Kerne, Horse-boys, and Carrowes to be cleane cutt off, as too violent a meanes, and your selfe now prescribe the same medicine? Is not the sworde the most violent redress that can be used for any evill?

Iren. It is soe; but yet where no other remedy may be found, nor no hope of recovery had, it must needs this violent meanes be used. As the loose kinde of people which you would cutt off, I blamed yt, for that they might otherwise perhappes be brought to good, as namely by the way which I sett before you.

Eudox. Is not your waye all one with the former in effecte, which you founde false with, save on this odds, that I saye by the halter, and you saye by the sworde? what difference is there?

l. 4153, 'boughes': l. 4157, 'Kearvoogs': l. 4159, after 'same' violent a' miswritten again from previous line in our MS.

Iren. There is surely greate, when you shall understand yt ; for by the sworde, which I named, I doe not meane the cuttinge of of all that nacon with the sworde, which farr bee yt from me, that ever I should thincke foe desperatelie, or wishe foe uncharitable, but by the sworde I meane the Royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretch yt selfe forth in ther cheife strengthe to the redressinge and 4180 cutting of of those evilles, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people by good ordynance and goverment may be made good ; but the evill that is of yt selfe evill, will never become good.

Eudox. I praye you then declare your minde at large, howe you woulde wishe that sworde, which you meane, to bee used to the reformacon of all those evilles.

Iren. The first thinge must bee to sende over into 4190 that realme such a stronge power of men, as that shall perforce bringe in all that rebellyous rout of loofe people, which either doe nowe stande out in open armes, or in wanderinge companies doe keepe the woodes, spoilinge and infestinge the good subiecte.

Eudox. You speake nowe, *Iren.*, of an infynite charge to her Majestie, to sende over such an armye as shoulde treade downe all that standeth before them on foote, and laye on the grounde all the 4200 stiffe-necked people of that lande ; for there is nowe but one Outlawe of any greate reckoninge, to wytt, the Earle of Tyrone, abroad in armes, against whome you see what huge charges shee hath bene

att this last yere, in sendinge of men, providinge
of victualls, and makinge heade against him: yet
there is litle or nothings at all done, but the
Queenes treasure spent, her people wasted, the
poore countrey troubled, and the enemye nevertheles
brought into no more subiection then he was, or list 4210
outwardlye to shewe, which in effecte is none, but
rather a scorne of her power, and emboldeninge of
a proude Rebell, and an encouragement unto all
like lewdelie disposed traytors that shall dare to
lift up their heele against their Sovereigne Lady.
Therefore yt were harde counsell to drawe such an
exceedinge charge upon her, whose event should be
for uncerten.

Iren. True indeede, yf the event should be un-
certen; but the certentie of thesame herof shalbe 4220
for infallible as that noe reason can gayne say yt,
nether shall the charge of all this armie, which I
demand, bee much greater then for much as in this
last twoe yeres warres hath vainlye been expended.
For I dare undertake that it hath cost the Queene
above 200000 poundes already, and for the present
charge, that there is nowe att there, amounteth to
very nere 2000 poundes a month, whereof cast yee
the counte: yet nothinge is done. The which some,
had yt been employed as yt should bee, would have 4230
effected all this that I now speake of.

Edm. Howe meanne you to have yt employed, but
to be spent in the paye of Souldyours, and provision of
victuall?

Iren. Right soe, but yt is nowe not disbursed at
4235 'accordinge' 'year' 'Collier' 'Month' etc.: 4236 'month'

once, as yt might bee, but drawen out into a longe length, by sendinge over nowe 20000 poundes, and next halfe yere 10000 poundes ; foe as the souldyer in the meane tyme, is for wante of due provision of victuall, and goode payement of his due, sterved 4240 and consumed ; that of a 1000, which came over lustie able men, in halfe a yere there are not leste 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never the les, but what is not paied in present mony is accompted in debte, which will not be longe unpaied ; for the Captaine, halfe of whose souldyors are deade, and thother quarter never mustered, nor seene, comes shortlye to demand payement here of his whole accompte, where, by good meanes of some greate ones, and privie sharinge with the officers and 4250 servants of other some, he receiveth his debte, much lesse perhapps then was due, yett much more indeede then he justlye deserved.

Eudox. I take this, sure, to be no good husbandrye ; for what must needes be spent, as good spent at once, where is inough, as to have it drawne out into longe delaies, feinge that thereby both the service is much hindered, and yett nothinge saved : but yt may be the Queenes treasure in foe greate occasions of huge disbursements as yt is well knowne shee hath beene 4260 at lately, is not alwaies foe readye, nor foe plentifull, as yt cann spare foe greate a some together, but beinge paide as yt is, now some and then some, yt is noe great burden unto her, nor any great ympoverishment to her coffers, feinge by such delaye of time that it daylie cometh in foe fast as shee poureth it out.

L. 4243, 'a whit the' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 4256, 'partah.'

Iren. Yt may be as you faide, but for the goeing through of foe honorable a course, I doubt not but yf the Queenes coffers be not foe well stored, which wee are not to looke into, but that the whole 427
realme which now, as thinges are used, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hange-
inge upon their backes, would, for a finall ryddance of that trouble, be once troubled for all ; and pute to all their shouldiers, and helping hands, and hartes alsoe, to the defrayinge of that charge, most gladfullie and willinglye ; and surely the charge, in effect, is nothinge to the infinite greate good which shold come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generallye, as when tyme serveth shalbe 428
shewed.

Eudox. How manye men then would you require to the finnishinge of this which yee take in hand ? and how longe space would you have them inter-tained ?

Iren. Verely, not above ten thousand footemen, and a 1000 horse, and all those not above the space of one year and a halfe ; for I would still, as the heate of the service abateth, abate the number in paye, and make other provision for them, 429
as I will show.

Eudox. Surely, yt semeth not much that you require, nor noe longe time : but how would you haue them used ? would you leade forth your armye against the enymie, and seeke him where he is to fight ?

Iren. No, Eudox., it would not be, for it is well

l. 4297, 'it . . . be' from Collier, Morris, etc.

knowne that he is a flying enemye, hidyng himself in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not draw forth, but into some straight passage or perilous forde where he knowes the armye most needes passe; there will he lye in wait, and, if hee finde advantage fitt, will dangerously hazard the troubled souldier. Therefore to seeke him owte that still flyeth, and follow him that cann hardlye be found, were vaine and bootlesse; but I would deuide my men in garrison upō his countrye, in such places as I would thincke might most annoy him. 4300

Eudox. But how can that bee, Iren., with so few men? for thenemy, as ye now see, is not all in one countrye, but some in Ulster, some in Connaug, and others in Leinster. So as to plainte stronge garrisons in all these places should neede many moe men then you speake of, or to plainte all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the spoyle. 4310

Iren. I would wish the chiefe power of the armye to bee garrisoned in one countrye that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that are weakest: As for example, the Earle of Terrone is now counted the strongest; upon him would I laye 8000 men in garrison, 1000 upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 upon some partes of Conaghe to be at the direction of the Governor. 4320

Eudox. I see now all your men bestowed, but in what places would you sett their garrison that they might rise out most conveniently to service? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet

l. 4322, 'Fenghe': l. 4323, 'Kevanaghs.'

I will take the mapp of Ireland before me, and make my eyes in the mean while my schole-maisters, 4330 to guid my understandinge to judge of your plott.

Iren. These 8000 in Ulster I would deuide likewise into foure parts, so as theire should be 2000 footmen in everye garrison; the which I would thus place. Upon the Blackwater, in some convenient place, as high upon the ryver as might bee, I would laye one garrison. Another would I put at Castletiffer, or Castlefine thereabouts, soe as they should have all the passages upon the river to Loghfoyle. The third I would place aboute Fermaugh or 4340 Bondroise, soe as they might lye betweene Connaugh and Ulster, to serve upon both sides, as occasion shalbe offered; and this therefore would I have stronger then any of the rest, because yt should be most enforced, and most ymployed, and that they might put wardes at Ballashanon, Belike, and all those passages. The rest would I sett aboute Monnaghan or Belterbert, soe as yt should fronte both upon thenymie that waye, and alsoe keepe the countye of Cavan and Meath in awe from 4350 passinge of straglers, and out gaders from those partes, whence they use to come forthe, and oftentimes worke much mischief. And to everye of theise garisons of 2000. footmen, I would have 200. horsemen added, for thone without thother can do but litle service. The foure garrisons, thus beinge placed, I would have to bee victualled aforehand for half a yeare, which you will saie to

l. 4337, '*I would lay*,' from Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 4340, '*Fearne-munnaghe*' : l. 4348, '*Moncham*.'

be harde, confideringe the corruption and ufual waſt
of victualls. But why ſhould they not be aſwell 4360
victualled for ſoe longe tyme, as the ſhipes are
uſuallye for a yeare, and ſometymes twoe, feinge
it is eaſier to keepe them on land then on water ?
There breade would I have in flower, ſo as it might
be baked ſtill to ſerve there want. There drinke
alſoe there brewed within thẽ, from tyme to tyme,
and their beef befor hande barrelled, the which
maye be uſed as it is needed ; for I make noe
doubt but of freſhe victuall they will ſometimes
purvey themſelves amongſt their enymies Creete. 4370
Here unto would I alſoe have them have a ſtore of
hoſe and ſhooes, with ſuch other neceſſaries as
maye be needfull for ſouldiers, ſoe as they ſhall have
no occaſion to looke for reliefe from abroad, or
occaſion ſuch trouble, for their contynuall ſupplie, as
I ſee and have often proved in Ireland to be more
cumberous to the Deputy, and more daungerous
to them that releif them, then half the leadinge of
an Armye ; for the enemy, knowinge the ordinarye
wayes by which their relief moſt be brought them, 4380
uſeth comõlye to drawe himſelfe into the ſtraight
paſſages thitherwarde, and oftentimes doth daunger-
ouſly diſtreſſes them : beſides, the pay of ſuch force
as ſhould be ſent for their convoye, the charge of
the carryages, the exactions of the countrye ſhalbe
ſpared. But onely every halfe yeare the ſupplie
brought by the Deputye himſelf, and his power, whoe
ſhall then viſite and overlooke all thoſe garriſons,
to ſee what is needed, to change what is expedient,

l. 4377, 'comberſome': l. 4378, 'retayne.'

and to directe what he shall best advise. And these 4390
 fowre garrisons yssuinge forth, at such convenient
 tymes as they shall have intelligence or espeiall upon
 the enemye, will foe drive him from one steade to
 another, and tennis him amongst them, that he
 shall finde noe where saif to keepe his creet, nor
 hide himself, but flyinge from the fyer shall fall
 into the water, and out of one daunger into aother,
 that in shorte tyme his Creet, which is his most
 sustenance, shalbe waisted with prayeing, or killed 4400
 with drivings, or starved for want of pasture in
 the woodes, and he himselfe brought so low, that
 he shall have no harte nor abbilitye to endure
 his wretchednesse, the which will surely come to
 passe in verie short space; for one winters well
 followinge of him will foe plucke him on his knees,
 that he will never be able to stand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter tyme
 fittest for the services of Ireland? how falls it then
 that our most employment be in sommer, and the
 armyes then ledd comonlye foorth? 4410

Iren. It is surely misconceyved; for yt is not
 with Ireland as with other countryes, where the
 wars flame most in sommer, and the helmets glyster
 brightest in the faire sonne shine: But in Ireland
 the winter yeildeth best services, for then the trees
 are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and
 howse the kerne; the ground is cold and wett,
 which useth to be his beddinge; the ayre is sharpe
 and bitter, which useth to blow through his naked
 sides and legges; the kyen are barren and without 4420

l. 4393, 'side': l. 4398, 'space': l. 4414, 'sunne shine.'

milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neyther yf he kill them then will they yeild hime flesh, nor yf hee keepe them will they give him foode; besides then being all in calf for the most parte, they will, through much chafing and driuinge, cast all their calues, and loofe all their milke, which should releif him the next sommer after.

Eudox. I doe well understand your reason; but by your leave, 'I have hard yt other wise saide, of some that weare outlawes, that in sommer they kept themselves quiet, but in winter they would plaie theyre partes, and when the nights weare longest, then burne and spoyle most, foe that they might fastlye returne before daye. 4430

Iren. I have likewise harde and likewise sene prooffe thereof trewe: but that was of such outlawes as war eyther abiddinge in well inhabited countrye, as in Mounster, all a-bordringe to the English pale, as Pheah Mā Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Mores, the Dempfes, the Ketinges, the Kellies, or such like: For for them indeede the night is the fittest tyme for spoyleing and robbinge, because the nightes are then, as ye said, longest and darkest, and also the countryes all aboute are then fulle of corne, and good provision to be everye where gotten by them; but it is far otherwise with a stronge peopled enymye, that possesse a whole countrye, for thother beinge but a fewe, are indeede privillye lodged, and kept in out villages and corners nigh the woodes and mountaynes, by some of their privie freinds, to 4440 4450

whom they bringe theire spoyles and stealthes, and of whom they continuallye receive secreete releif; but the open enymye haveinge all his countrye wasted, what by him, and what by the soldiers, finddeth them succor in noe places. Townes there are none of which he may gett spoile, they are all burnt; Countrye houses and farmers there are none, they be all fled; breade he hath none, he plowed not in sommer; flesh he hath, but if he kill yt in winter, he shall want milke in somer, and shortly want life. Therefore yf they bee well followed but one winter, yee shall have litle worke to doe with them the next sommer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceave the dyfference, and doe verelye thinke that the winter tyme is there fyttest for service: withall I perceave the manner of youre handlinge the services, by draweing sudden draughtes upon the enymye, when he looketh nott for you, and to watch advantage upon him, as he doth uppon you. By which straight keepinge of them in, and not sufferinge them longe at anye tyme to rest, I must needes thinke that they most sone be brought low, and dryven to greate extremities. All which when you have perfourmed, and brought them to the verye last cast, suppose that eyther they will offer to come in unto you and submitt themselves, or that some of them will seeke to withdraw themselves, what is youre advise to doe? will you have them received? 44

Iren. Noe; but at the beginynge of these warrs, and when the garrisons are well planted and

L. 4462, 'and . . . life' from Collier, Morris, etc.

fortified, I would with a proclamacon wear made generally to come to there knowledge, that what persons soever would within twentye dayes absolutelye submitte themselves, exceptinge onely the verye principall and ringeleaders, should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the settlinge of these garrisons, such a terror and nere consideracon of there perilous estate will be stricken into most 4490 that they will covett to draw awaye from there leaders. And againe I well knowe that the rebells themselves (as I saw by proof in the Desmonds warrs) will turne awaye all there rascall people, whom they thinke unserviseable, as ould men, woemen, children, and hyndes, which they call churles, which would onelye waite there victualls, and yeild them no ayde; but there cattell they will surely keepe awaye: These therefore though pollicye would turne them backe againe, that 4500 they might the reyther consume and afflict the other rebells, yett in a pittifull comisseration, I would wishe them to be received; the reyther for that this base sorte of people doth not for the most parte rebell of himselfe, have no harte thereunto, but is of force drawne by the grand rebels into there action, and caryed awaye with the violence of the streame, els he should bee sure to loofe all that he hath, and perhappes his life alsoe; the which now he caryeth with them, in 4510 hope to enjoy them there, but he is there by the stronge rebells themselves turned out of all, soe that the constraint hereof maye in him deserve pardon. Likewife yf anye of there able men or

gentlemen shall then offer to come awaie, and to bringe there creete with them, as some no doubt may steale them away prevelye, I wishe them alsoe to be receaved, for the difablinge of thenymye, but withall, that good assurance maye be taken of their true behayvor and absolute submissiõ, 4 and that they then be not suffered to remaine anye longer in those parts, no nor about the garison, but sent awaye into the inner parts of the realme, and disperfed in such forte as they shall not come together, nor easelye retorne yf they would: For if they might be suffered to remaine about the garrison, and there inhabite, as shall offer to till the ground, and yeild a greate parte of the profit thereof, and of their cattell, to the coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted manie, 4¹ they would (as I have by experience knowen) bee ever after such a gall and inconvenyence to them, as that their profit should not recompence their hurte; for they will privilie releive their freindes that are forth; they will send the enymye secrete advertisement of all there purposes and journeyes which they meane to make upon them; they will also not flick to drawe the enimye upon them, yea and to betraye the forte it self, by discoverye of all the defects and disadvantages yf anye bee, 4⁵ to the cuttinge of all their throts. For avoydinge whereof and manye other inconveniences, I wish that they should be carried farr from thence into some other parts, foe as I saide, they come and submitt themselves, upon the first sommons: but afterwards I would have none received, but lefte

to their fortone and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which afterwards remaine without, are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never bee made dutyfull and obedient, nor brought to 4550 labor or civill conversation, havinge once tasted the licensius life, and beinge acquainted with spoyle and outrages, will ever after be readye for the like occasions, soe as there is no hope of their amendement or recoverye, and therefore nedefull to be cutt of.

Eudox. Surelye of such desperat persons, as will follow the course of their owne follye, there is noe compasion to bee hadd, and for the others yee have purposed a mercifull meanes, much more 4560 then they have deserved: but what shall bee the conclusion of this warr? for you have prefixed a shorte tyme of their contenance.

Iren. The end I assure mee will be verie shorte, and much soner then cann bee, in soe great trouble (as yt semeth) hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slaine by the foldier, yett thus beinge kepte from manurance, and their cattle from runinge abroad, by this hard restraints, they would quicklye consume 4570 themselves, and devoure one another. The proof whereof I saw sufficientlye ensampled in those late warrs in Mounster; for notwithstandinge that the same was a most rich and plentyfull countrey, full of corne and cattell, that you would have thought they would have beene hable to stand longe, yett eare one yeare and a half they weare brought to such wretchednes, as that anye stonye

herte would have rewed the fame. Out of everye corner of the woode and glenns they came 4:
 creepeinge forth upon theire handes, for theire legges could not beare them; they looked Anatomies [of] death, they spake like ghoftes, crying out of theire graves; they did eate of the carrions, happye wheare they could find them, yea, and one another foone after, in foe much as the verye carcasses they spared not to scrape out of theire graves; and if they found a plott of water-creffes or shamrockes, theyr they flocked 45
 as to a feaft for the time, yett not able long to contynewe therewithall; that in shorte space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentyfull countrye suddenly leste voyde of man or beaft: yett fure in all that warr, there perished not manye by the sworde, but all by the extreamytie of famyne which they themselves hadd wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how yt should foe shortly come to passe.

46

Iren. It is most true, and the reason alsoe very readye; for ye must conceive that the strength of all that nation is the Kearne, Gallowglasse, Stocagh, Horsman, and Horseboy, the which haveing ben never used to have any thinge of theire owne, and now livinge of others, make no sparre of anye thinge but havocke and confusion of all they meete with, whether yt bee theire frindes goods, or there foes. And if they happen to gett never foe greate

L. 4599, '*foe shortly*' from Collier, Morris, etc.

spoyle at any tyme, the fame they spoyle and waste 4610
at a tryce, as naturallie delightinge in spoyle, though
it doe themselves noe good. On thother fide, what-
foever they leave unspent, the foldier, when hee cometh
there, he havocketh and spoyleth likewise, foe that
betweene them both nothinge is verie shortlye lefte.
And yett this is verie necessarye to be donne, for the
sonne finythinge of the warr ; and nott onely this in
this wife, but also all those subjects which border
upon those parts, are eyther to bee removed and
drawne awaye, or likewise to bee spoyled, that the 4620
enymie may finde no succor thereby: for what the
foldyer spares the rebell will surelye spoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well understand you. But now
when all thinges are brought to this passe, and all
filled with these ruefull spectackles of foe manye
wretched carcases starvinge, goodly cuntryes wasted,
foe huge a desolation and confusion, as even I that
doe but heare yt from you, and doe picture it in my
mynd, doe greatlye pittye and commiserate it, yf it
shall happen, that the state of this miserie and 4630
lamentable image of thinges shall bee toulde, and
felinglye presented to her sacred majesty, beinge
by nature full of mercie and clemencye, who is
most inclynable to such pittyfull complaints, and
will not indure to here such tragidydes made of her
people and poore subjects as some about her maie
insinuate ; then shee perhapps, for verie compaffion
of such calamityes, will not onely stopp the streame of
such violence, and returne to her wonted myldnes, but
alsoe cone them litle thanks which have beene the 4640
aucthors and counsellors of such blodye platfformes.

Soe I remember that in the late goverment of that good lord Graye, where after longe travell and many perillous affaies, he hadd brought thinges almost to this passe that ye speake of, that yt was even made readye for reformation, and might have ben brought to what her majestye would, like complainte was made against him, that he was a bloodye man, and regarded not the life of her subiectes noe more then dogges, but hadd wasted 46 and consumed all, foe as now shee had nothinge left; but to reigne in their ashes: her Majesties eare was sonne lent thereunto, all suddenlye turned topysse turvie; the noble Lord estfoones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and newe counsellis plotted, in which it was concluded that a generall pardon should be sent over to all that would accepte of yt: upon which all former purposos were blancked, the Governor at a baye, and not onely all that greate and longe charge which shee hadd before beene at, 46 quite lost and cancelled, but alsoe all that hope of good which was even at the doore putt backe, and cleane frustrate. All which whether yt be trew, or noe, your selfe cann well tell.

Iren. Too trewe, Eudox., the more the pittye, for I may not forgett soe memorable a thinge: neyther cann I be ignorante of that perillous devise, and of the whole meanes by which it was compassed, and verie cunninglye contrived, by soweinge first dyssension betweene him and an other noble per- 46; sonage, wherein they both at length found how notablie they had beene abused, and how thereby,

l. 4652, 'her Majesties.'

under hand, this uniuersal alteracon of thinges was brought aboute, but then to late to staie the same; for in the meane tyme all that was formerly done with longe labour and great toyle, was (as you saye) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knewe, knewe to be most gentle, affable, lovinge and temperate; but that the necessitee of that present state of thinges enforced him to that violence, and almost changed his verriye naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of those which were afterwarde his accusers, had tasted to much of his mercye, and were from the gallows brought to be his accusers. But his course indeede was this, that he spared not the heades and principalls of any mischeuous practize or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, cheifly for an example sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were then generally infected with that evill, might by terror thereof be reclaymed, and saved, yf it were [possible]. For in the last conspiracye of some of the English Pale, thinke you not that there were many more guyltie then [they] that felt the punishment? or was there any almost clere from the same? yet he towched onely a few of speciall note; and in the triall of them also even to prevent the blame of crueltie and parciall proceedinge as seekinge their blood, which he, in his

ll. 4687-8, 'had . . . accusers' from Collier, Morris, etc.: ll. 4695-7, 'For . . . were,' *ibid.*: l. 4702, 'dealing.'

great wisedome (as it seemeth) did fore-see would be objected against him ; he, for avoydinge thereof, did use a singular discretion and regarde. For the Jury that went upon their triall, he made to be chosen out of their neereft kinnesmen, and their Judges he made of some their owne fathers, of others their uncles and dearest freindes, who when they coude not but justly condemne them, yet uttered 4 their judgment in abundance of teares, and yett even herein he was accompted bloody and cruell.

Eudox. Indeepe so have I heard it often so spoken, but I perceyve (as I alwaies verely thought) that it was most unjustly ; for hee was alwaies knowne to be a most just, sincere, godly, and right noble man, far from suche stearnenesse, far from suche unrighteousnes. But in that sharpe execucon of the Spaniards at the forte of Seuawick, I heard it specially noted, and, if it were trewe as some reported, surely it was 47 a great towche to him in honor, for some say that he promised them life ; others that at the least he did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is most untrue ; for this I can assure you, my self beinge as neare them as any, that hee was so farre from promisinge or putting [them] in hope, that when first their Secretary, called, as I remember Segnor Jeffrey, an Italian [being] sent to treat with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refused ; and afterwarde their 47 Coronell, named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreate

1. 4713, '*it heere*'—in England ; but our text, '*it often*,' is surely preferable to Dr. Morris's reading? 1. 4719, '*Smerwicke*' : 1. 4728, '*Geffray*' : 1. 4730, '*denyed*.'

that they might part with their armes like fouldiers, at least with their lyves, accordinge to the custome of warre and lawe of Nations, it was strongly denyed him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie him selfe, that they coulede not iustly pleade either custome of warr, or lawe of Nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemyes ; and if they were, willed them to shewe by what comission they came thither into another Princes domynions to warre, whether from the Pope or the Kinge of Spayne, or any other. Then when they saide they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to seeke fortune abroad, and serve in warrs amongest the Irishe, who desired to entertayne them, it was then tolde them, that the Irishe them selves, as the Earle and John of Desmonde with the rest, were no lawfull enemyes, but Rebels and traytors ; and therefore they that came to succor them no better then rogues and runnagates, specially cominge with no licence, nor commission from their owne Kinge : so as it shoulde be dishonorable for him in the name of his Queene to condicon or make any tearmes with suche rascalls, but left them to their choyce, to yielde and submytt them selves, or no. Wherupon the said Coronell did absolutely yeild him selfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being thought good not to shew them, both for daiunger of themselves yf, being saved, they should afterwardees joyne with the Irishe, and also for terror of the Irish, who were muche imboldned by those forreyne succours, and also put in hope of more ere longe ; there was no other way but to make that short ende of them

which was made. Therefore most untruly and maliciously doe theis evill tongues backbite and sclaunder the sacred ashes of that most iust and honorable personage, whose leaste vertue, of many most excellent which abounded in his heroicke spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.*

Eudox. Truly, Iren : I am right glad to be thus 477c
satisfied by you in that I have often heard questioned,
and yet was never hable, to choke the mouthe of
suche detractors with the certayne knowledge of
their sclaunderous untruthes : neither is the know-
ledge thereof impertinent to that which we formerly
had in hand, I meane to the through prosecutinge
of that sharpe course which yee have sett downe
for the bringing under of those rebells of Ulster and
Connaght, and preparinge a waye for their perpetuall
reformacon, least happely, by any suche synifter 478o
suggestions of creweltie and to muche bloodshed, all
the plott might be overthrowne, and all the cost
and labour therein employed be utterly lost and cast
away.

Iren. Yee say most true ; for after that lordes
callinge away from thence, the two lorde Justices
contynued but a while : of which the one was of
mynde, as it seemed, to have contynued in the
footinge of his predecessor, but that he was curbed
and restrayned. But the other was more myldely 479o

* In our own day Sir John Pope Hennessy has revived these old mendacities. See our new *Life of Spenser* in Vol. I. for a critical handling of his 'Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland,' 1883 (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.), than which a more audaciously one-sided or malignant book has never been written. Sir John does presume on the ignorance of his readers.—G.

dispos'd, as was meete for his profession, and willinge to have all the woundes of that comonwealth healed and recured, but not with the heed as they shoulde bee. After, when [he] was gone Sir John Parrott, succceedinge, as it were, into another mans harvest, founde an open way to what course he list, the which he bent not to that poynt which the former governors intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorne of the former, and in a vayne vaunt of his owne counsell, with that which he was to 4800 willfully carried; for he did treade downe and disgrace all the Englishe, and sett up and countenance the Irishe all that he coulde, whether thinkinge thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to the goverment, wherein he thought muche amysse, or prively plotting some other purposes of his owne, as it partly afterwarde appeared. But surely his manner of goverement coulde not be founde nor holsome for that Realme, beinge so contrary to the former. For it was even as two phevitions shoulde 4810 take one sick bodie in hande at two sundry tymes; of which the former woulde minister all thinges meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and strengthen it todaynely agayne, whereof what is to be looked for but a most daungerous relapse? That which we now see through his Rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, beinge now more daungerously sick then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it must be foreseene and assured, that after once entring into this 4820 course of reformatioun, there bee afterwarde no remorse

1. 4792, '*pityfull woundes.*'

or drawinge back for the fight of any fuche ruefull obiect as muſt therupon followe, nor for compaſſion of their calamities, ſeeinge that by no other meanes it is poſſible to recure them, and that theis are not of will, but of verie urgent neceſſitie.

Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garrifons, and to direct their ſervices ; of the which nevertheles I muſt needes conceive that there cannott be any certayne direction ſett 48 downe, ſo that they muſt followe the occaſions which ſhalbe [daylie] offred, and diligently awayted. But, by your leave Iren., notwithstandinge all this your carefull fore-fight and proviſion, me thinkes I ſee an evill lurk unſpied, that may chaunce to hazard all the hope of this great ſervice, if it be not verie well looked unto ; and that is, the corruption of their captaynes : for though they be placed never ſo carefully, and their companies filled never ſo ſufficiently, yet may they (if they liſt) diſcarde when 484 they pleaſe, and ſende away fuche as will willingly be ridd of that daungerous and harde ſervice ; the which well I wott, is their comon cuſtome to doe, when they are laide in garrifon, for then they may better hide their defaultes, then when they are in campe, where they are continually eyed and noted of all men. Befides, when their pay cometh, they will (as they uſe) detayne the greateſt porcons thereof at their pleaſure, by an hundred ſhiftes that neede not here be named, thorough which they oftentymes 485 deceyve the ſouldior, abuſe the Queene, and greatly hinder the ſervice. So that lett the Queene pay

never so fully, the muster-master view them never so diligently, lett the deputie or generall looke never so exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore meseemes it were good, yf at least it be possible, to make some provision for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very harde ; but the cheifest helpe for prevencon hereof must be the care of the coronell that hath the goverment of all his garison, 4860 to have an eye to their alteracon, to knowe the nomber and names of the sick fouldiors, and the flayne, to marke and observe their rankes in their daily risinge forthe to service, by which he cannot easely bee abused, so that he him self be a man of speciall assuraunce and integritie. And therefore good regarde is to be had in the chofinge and appoynting of them. Besides, I would not by any meanes that the captaynes should have the payeing of their fouldiors, but that there shoulde a pay- 4870 master be appoynted, of speciall trust, which should pay every man accordinge to his captaynes tickett, and the accompt of the clarke of his bande : for by this meanes the captayne will never seeke to falsify his alteracons, nor to dyminishe his companyes, nor to deceyve his fouldiors, when nothinge thereof shalbe for his gayne. This is the manner of the Spanyardes captaynes, who never hath to meddle with his fouldiors pay, and indeede scorneth the name as base, to be counted his fouldiors pugadore ; 4880 whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought things to so bad a passe, that there is no captayne, but thinkes his band very sufficient, yf he can muster

iii^{xx}. [= three score], and sticks not to say openly, that he is unworthie to have a captaineship, that cannot make it cccccc^{ll} by the yere, the which they right well verifie by the prooffe.

Eudox. Truly I thinke this is a verie good meane to avoide that inconvenience of captaines abusions. But what say you of the coronell? what 485
authoritie thinke you meete to be gyven him? whether will you allowe him to protect, to fause conduct, [and] to have marshall lawe as they are accustomed?

Iren. Yea verely, but all theis to be lymited with verie straight instructions. As thus for protections, that hee shall have authority after the first proclamation, for the space of twentie dayes, to protect all that shall come unto them, and then to sende us to the Lord Deputie, with their sauf conduct or passe, 490
to be at his disposicon; but so as none of them turne back agayne, beinge once comen, but be presently sent away out of the countrie, unto the next shereff, and so conveyed in saftie. And likewise for marshall lawes, that to the souldior it be not extended, but by triall formerly made of his cryme, by a Jury of his fellowe souldiors as it ought to be, and not rashly, at the will or displeasure of the coronell, as I have sometyme seene to lightly. And as for other of the rebells that shall light into their 4910
handes, that they be well aware of what condicon they be, and what holding they have. For, in the last generall warres there, I knewe many good freeholders executed by marshall lawe, whose land was

ll. 4897-8, 'that . . . to' from Collier, Morris, etc.

thereby faved to their heires, which shoulde otherwise have escheated to her Majestie. In all which, the greate discrecion and uprightnes of the coronell him self is to be the chiefeft stay bothe of all theis doubtes, and for many other difficulties that may in the service happen.

4920

Eudox. Your caufion is verie good; but now towching the arche-Rebell him self, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the tyme of theis warrs, should offer to come in and submytt him self to her Majestie, woulde you not have him receyved, gyvinge good hostages, and sufficient affurance of him self?

Iren. No, marry; for there is no doubt, but he will offer to come in, as he hath done dyvers tymes alreadie, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well showed; neither indeede can he now, if he woulde, come in at all, nor gyve that affurance of him self that should be meete, for being, as he is, very subtill headed, feinge him self now so farr engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission he can purchase to him self any saftie, but that hereafter, when thinges shalbe quieted, theis his villanyes wilbe ever remembered? and whensoever he shall treade awry (as needes the most righteous must some tymes) advantage wilbe taken thereof, as a breache of his pardon, and he brought to a reconinge for all former matters: besides, how harde it is for him now to frame him selfe to subjection, that havinge once sett before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therunto founde not onely encoragement from the greatest

4930

4940

Kinge of Christendome, but also founde great fayntnes in her Majesties withstandinge [him], whereby he is animated to thinke that his power is to defende him, and offende further then he had done, when so ever he please, lett every reasonable man judge. But yf he him self should come in, and leave all other his accomplices without, as Adonel, Macmahon, Mackuyre, and the rest, he must needes thinke that then, even they will eare longe cut his throate, which having drawn them all into this occasion, now in the mydest of their trouble gyveth them the slipp; wherby he must needes perceyve how impossible it is for him to submytt himselfe. But yet if he woulde so doe, can he gyve any assurance of his good obedience? For how weake holde there is by hostages, hath to often been proved, and that which is spoken of takinge Shan Oneales sonnes from him, and setting them up against him, is a very perilous councell, and not by any meanes to be put in prooffe; for were they lett forth and coulde overthrowe him, who shoulde afterwarde overthrowe them, or what assurance can be had of them? It wilbe like the tale in Æsope of the wilde horse, who, havinge enmytie against the Stagge, came to a man to desire his aide against his enemye, who yeilding therunto mounted upon his back, and so following the Stagge ere longe slew him, but then when the horse woulde have him alight, he refused, but kept him ever after in his service and subjection. Suche, I doubt woulde be the profe of Shane Oneales sonnes. Therefore it is most daungerous to attempt any suche

plott, for even that very manner of plott, was the meanes by which this traytorous Earle is now made great: for when as the laft Oneale, called Turlagh 4970 Lenagh, began to stand upon fome ticle termes, this fellow, then called Baron of Dungafion, was fett up (as it were) to beard him, and countenaunced and strengthened by the Queene fo farr, as that he is now hable to kepe her felf play: muche like unto a gamefter which havinge loft all, borroweth of his next fellowe gamefter that is the moft wyinner, somewhat to maynetayne play, which he, fetting unto him agayne, shortly therby wynneth all from the wyinner.

Eudox. Was this rebell then fett up at firft by 4980 the Quene (as you faie), and now become fo unduetifull?

Iren. He was I affure you the [moft] outcaft of all the Oneales then, and lifted up by her Majeftie out of the duft, to that he hath now wrought him felfe unto; and now he playeth like the frozen fnake, who beinge for compaffion relieved by the husbandman, foone after he was warme began to hiffe, and threaten danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He furely then deferveth the ponifhment 4990 of the fnake, and shoulde worthely be hewed to peeeces. But yf you like not the fetting Shane Oneales fonnes againft him, what fay you then to that advife which I hearde was gyven by fome, to drawe in the Scotts, to ferve againft him? how like you that advife?

Iren. Much worfe then the former; for who that

1. 4970, 'Tyrrelaghe O'Neale': 1. 4980, 'Eudox. Was . . . undutifull' from Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 4992, 'rayfing up of:'

A TREATISE OF THE

... of these parties and known unto
the ... an neerly ailed unto the Mac Deas
... and to the Earle of Argill from thing
... all the successors of those Scottes and
... be like all these Scottes are through
... intermingled and ailed to a like
... of the North ... as there is no hope of
... to serve faithfully against the
... and if they would be
... and they have no
... themselves be put out
... that the Scottes were the
... and that those who
... were made very Scott
... and some
... The
... of the past time
... and provision in the
... to escape out of

I have thought ... in your defence
... have that
... downed
... challenge
... the Earle of Argyll
... here
... and make
... him, who
... according to
... for
... the Secretary me seems

t should be wrong to thrust him out: or if (as I 5030 remember you sayd in the beginning) that Oneale, when he acknowleged the King of England for his liege Lord and Sovereigne, did, as he allegeth, reserve in the same commiffion all his feigniories and rights unto him self, it should be accompted unjust to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the right of Onele in the Seigniory of the North, it is surely none at all: for besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and therby invested all the right of that land to 5040 themselves and ther heires and successeurs for ever, so as nothing was left in Onele but what he received back from them, Onele himself never had any auncient Seigniory in that country, but what by usurpation and incroachment, after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the English, whos lands and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scotts, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, as I formerly declared unto you, he estesones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detayned, through the 5050 others occupations and greate affaires which the Kings of England sone after fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that country of the North, nor restrayning the infolency of Oneale; who, finding none now to withstand him in that desolation, made himself Lord of those few poeple that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath contenedwed the first usurped power, and nowe exacteth and extorteth upon all men

L. 5030, miswritten '*wrought*' in our MS. : l. 5040, '*therby assumed and.*'

what he list: soe that nowe to subdue or expell an 5060
 usurper, should be no unjust enterprize nor wrongfull
 war, but a restitution of an auncient right unto the
 croune of England, from whence they were most
 unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied
 by you, that I may the better satisfy them whom
 I have often heard to object these doubts, and
 slanderously to barck at the courses that are held
 against that traiterous Earle and his adherence.
 But now that you [have] thus settled your service 5070
 for Ulster and Connaght, I would be glad to
 heare your opinion for the prosecuting of Feagh
 McHugh, who being but a base villaine, and of
 himself of no power, yet so continually troubleth
 that state, notwithstanding that he lyeth under
 ther nose, that I disdaine his bould arrogancy,
 and thinck it to be the greatest indignity to the
 Quene that may be, to suffer such a caytiffe
 play such reakes, and by his ensample not onely
 to give hart and incorage ment to all such bold 5080
 rebels, but also to yeild them succor and refuge
 against her Majestie, whensoever they fly into his
 Comerick: wherefore I would first with, befoore
 you enter into your plot of service against him,
 that you should lay open by what means he, being
 so base, first lifted him self up to this dangerous
 greatnesse and how he maynteyneth his part against
 the Quene and her power, notwithstanding all that
 hath bin don and attempted against him. And
 whether also hee have any pretence of right in the 5090

1. 5079, '*Rex*,' Collier and Morris: 1. 5083, '*Cummerreighe*.'

lands he houldeth, or in the warrs that he maketh for the same?

Iren. I will so, at your pleasure, and since you desire to know his beginning, I will not only discover the beginning of his private house, but also the originall of all his Sept of the Birnes and Tooles, so far as I have learned the same from some of them selves, and gathered the rest by reading: This poeple of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I shewed you my conjecture) descended from the 5100
auncient Britons, which first inhabited all those eastern parts of Ireland, as ther names do betoken; for Brin in the Britons language signifieth wooddy, and Toll hilly, which names, it semeth, they tooke of the country which they inhabited, which is all very mountaine and wooddy. In the which it semeth that ever sithence the comming in of the English with Dermonigile, they have continewd: Whether that ther country being so rude and mountaynous was of them despised, and thought 5110
[un]woorthy the inhabiting, or that they were receaved to grace by them, and suffred to injoy ther lands as unfit for any other, yet it semeth that in some places of the same, they did put foote, and fortified with fundry castles, of which the ruins there do only now remayne, since which time they are growne to that strength, that they are able to lift up hand against all the estate; and now lately, through the boldnesse and late good succeffe of this Feagh McHugh, they are so far 5120

l. 5103, '*hillie*': l. 5104, '*hole, valley, or darke*': l. 5108, '*Deurmind-ne-Galkh*.'

imboldned, that they threaten perill even to Dublin, over whos neck they continewally hang. But touching your demand of these Feaghs right unto that countrey, or the feignory which he claimes therin, it is most vaine and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant of, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by Dermot McMurrough, Kinge of Leinster, to Strangbow with his daughter, and which Strangbow gave over to the King and his heires, so as the right is absolutely now in her 5130 Majestie; and if it were not, yet could it not be in this Feagh, but in Obrin, which is the ancient Lord of all that countrey; for he and his auncestours were but followers unto O Brin, and his grandfather, Shane Mac Turlogh, was a man of meanest regard among them, neither having wealth nor power. But his sonn Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength and great fatnesse of Glan-Malor, which adioyneth unto his house of Ballenecan, drew unto 5140 him many theeves and outlawes, which fled unto the succor of the glenn, as to a Sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoyle of all the country, through which he grew strong, and in short space getting to him self a great name therby amongest the Irish, in whos footing this his sonn continewing hath, through many unhappy occasions, increased his name, and the opinion of his greatnesse, so that now he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

l. 5127, '*Deurmind*': ll. 5132-4, '*which . . . O'Brin*' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 5135, '*Tirrelaghe*': l. 5139, '*Malecirh*': l. 5140, '*Ballinecorrih*.'

Eudox. Sure, I commend him, that being of him 5150
self of so bace a condicon, hath through his owne
hardenesse lifted himself to the height that he now
dare front princes, and make tearmes with great
potentates; the which as it is honorable to him,
so it is to them most disgracefull, to be bearded of
such a base varlet, that being of late growne out
of the dunghill beginneth now to overcrow so high
mountaines, and make him self great protector of
all outlawes and rebells that will repayre unto him.
But do you thincke that he is now so dangerous an 5160
enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take
him doune as some suppose?

Iren. No verelye, there is no great reckoninge to
bee made of him; for hadd he ever beene taken in
hand, when the rest of the Realme, or at least the
parts adjoyninge, hadd beene quiet, as the honorable
gentleman that nowe governeth there, I meane Sir
Willyam Russell, gave a notable attempte thereunto,
and hadd worthylye performed yt, yf his course hadd
not bene crossed unhappelye, he could not have 5170
stood thre moneths, nor ever have looked up against
a very meane power: but now all the parts about
him being up in a madding moode, as the Mores in
Lease, the Cavanaghes in the county of Wexford,
and some of the Butlers in the county of Killkenny,
they all flock unto him, and draw unto his country,
as to a strong hould where they thinck to be safe
from all that prosecute them: And from thence they
do at ther pleasures breake out into all the borders
adjoynning, which are well poepled countries, as the 5180

l. 5155, miswritten 'gratefull' in our MS.

countys of Dublin, of Kildare, of Carlough, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the spoyles whereof they victell and strengthen them selves, which should in short time be starved, and sore pined; so that what he is of him self you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then, by so much as I gather out of your speach, the next way to end the warrs with him, and to roote him quite out, should be to keepe him from invading of thos countries adjoyning, which as I suppose, is to be donn, by drawing all the inhabitants 5190 of thos next borders away, and leaving them utterly waft, or by planting garifons upon all thos frontieres about him, that, when he shall breake forth, may set upon him and shorten his retourn.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, Eudox., but for the dispoeppling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countries about him, which ye speake of, should be great confusion and trouble, aswell for the unwillingnesse of them to leave ther possessions, as also for placing and providing for them in other 5200 countries, me seemes, the better course should be by planting of garrifons about him, the which, when foever he shall looke forth, or be drawne out with desire of the spoyle of thos borders, or for necessity of victuall, shall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or coming.

Eudox. Where then do you wish thes garrifons to be planted, that they may serve best against him; and how many in every garifon?

Iren. I my self, by reason that, as I told you, I 5210

1. 5181, 'Catarlaghe': 1. 5184, 'soone pined away': 1. 5206, 'going or,' Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 5210, 'as I told you,' *ib.*

am no marshall man, I will not take upon me to direct so dangerous affaires, but only as I understand by the purposes and plotts, which the Lord Grey who was well experienced in that service, against him did lay doune : to the performance whereof he only required a 1000. men to be layd in 4. garrifons : that is, at Ballincore, 200 footemen and 50. hors, which should shut him out of his great glenn, whereto he so much trusteth ; at Knocklough 200. footemen and 50. hors, to answer the county of Carlo ; at Arclo or Wicklo 200 footemen and 50 horsemen, to defend all that side towards the sea ; in Shelelagh 100 footemen which should cut him from the Cavernaghes, and the county of Wexford ; and about the 3 castles 50. horsmen, which should defend all the county of Dublin ; and 100 footemen at Talbotts toune, which should keepe him from breaking into the county of Kildare, and be alwayes on his neck on that side : the which garrifons, so lade, will so busy him, that he shall never rest at home, nor stirr forth abroad but he shall be had ; as for his Creete they can not be above ground, but they must nedes fall into ther hands or sterue, for he hath no fastnesse nor refuge for them, or his partakers of the Mores, Butlers, and Cavanaghes. They will sone leave him, when they see his fastnesse and strong places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this semeth a plot of great reason, and small difficulty, which promifeth hope of a short end. But what speciall directions will you

l. 5217, '*Ballincorrih*' : l. 5220, '*Caterlaghe*' : l. 5221, '*and . . . horsmen*,' Collier, Morris, etc.

set doune for the services and rifings out of thes garrifons?

Iren. None other then the present occasions shall minister unto them, and as by good spialls, whereof ther they cannot want store, they shall be drawne continually upon him, so as one of them shall be stil upon him, and sometimes all at one instant bayte him. And this I assure my self, will demand no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one yere; which how small a thing it is, unto the eternall quietnesse which shal therby be purchased to the realme, and the great good which should grow to her Majestie, should me thinck readily draw on her Highnesse to the undertaking of the enterprife. 5250

Eudox. You have very well me femes, Irenius, plotted a course for the atchieving of thes warrs now in Ireland, which seme to ask no long time, nor great charg, so as th'effecting thereof be committed to men of some trust, and some experience, aswell in the sayd country as in the manner of thos services; for if it be left in the hands of such raw captaines as are usually sent out of England, being thereto preferred only by frendship, and not chosen by sufficiensy, it will sone fall to the ground. 5260

Iren. Therefore it were meete me thincks that such captaines onely were hereto imployed, as have formerly served in that country, and bin at least lieutenants unto other captaines there. For other- wise, being brought and transferred from other services abroade, as in France, in Spaine, and in. 5270

the Low-countries, though they be of good experience in those, and have never so well deserved, yet in these they will be new to seeke, and, before they have gathered experience, they shall buy it with great losse to her Majestie, either by hazarding of ther companies, through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Irish services, or by losing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being 5280 but short, in which it might be finished, before they have almost taken out a new lesson, or can tell what is to be donn.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new captaines it semes, Irenius, that you bar them from the credit of this service: but to say truth, me thincks it were mete, that any one, before he come to be a captaine, should have bin a soldier; for, *Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare*. And besides, ther is great wrong done to the ould souldier, who from all means 5290 of advancement (which is due unto him) is cut of, by shuffling in thes new cutting captaines into ther places, for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now thos that have thus as I suppose finished all the war, and brought all things to that low eb which you speake [of], what course will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all thinges from this dissolute estate, in which mee thincks I behould them now left, unto that perfect establishment 5300 and new commonwealth which you have conceived, of which so great good may redoune to her Majestie,

ll. 5274-6, 'in . . . experience' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 5299, 'desolate.'

and an assured peace be confirmed? for that is that wherunto we are now to looke, and do greatly long for, being long since made weary with the huge charg which you have lade upon us, and with the strong indurance of so many complaints, so many delays, so many doubts and dangers, as will hereof I know well, arise: unto the which before you come, it were mete me thincks that you should take some 5310 order for the souldier, which is now first to be discharged and disposed of, some way; the which if you do not well fore-see, may grow to a great inconvenience, as all this that we suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving of so many thousand souldiers, which from hence forth will be unfit for any labor or other trade, but must either seke service and employment abroad, which may be dangerous, or ells will perhaps imploy them selves here at home, as may bee difcomodious. 5320

Iren. You say very true; and it is a thing much misliked in this our common-wealth that no better cours is taken for such as have bin imployed once in service, but that retourning, whether maymed, and so unable to labor, or otherwise, though hole and sound, yet afterward unwilling to worke, or rather willing to make worke for the hang-man. But that nedeth an other confideration; but to this that we have now in hand, it is far from my meaning to leave the souldier so at randome, or to leave that wast realme 5330 so weake and destitute of strength, which may both defend it against others that might seke to set upon

l. 5327, '*sett the hangman a worke*': l. 5330, '*so . . . randome*' from Collier, Morris, etc.

it, and also kepe it from that relaps which I before did forecast. For it is one special good of this plot which I would devise, that six thousand souldiers of those whom I have now imployed in that service, and made throughly acquainted both with the state of the country, and manners of the people, should henceforth be still continewed, and for ever mayntayned of the country, without any charg to her 5340 Majestie; and the rest that either are ould, and unable to serve longer, or willing to fall to thrifte, (as I have sene many souldiers after ther service to prove very good husbands,) should bee placed in parts of the lands by them woonn, at such rate, or rather better then others, to whom the same shall be let.

Eudox. Is it possible, Irenius? can ther be any such means devised that so many men should be kept still for her Majesties service without any charg to her Majestie at all? Surely this were an exceed- 5350 ing great good, both to her Heighnesse to have so many ould souldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpose soever she list to imploy them, and also to have that land therby so strengthned, that it shall neither feare any forreigne invasjon, nor practife, which the Irish shall ever attempt, but shall kepe them under in continewall awe and firme obedience.

Iren. It is so indede. And yet this truly I do not take to be any matter of great difficulty, as I thinck it will also sone appere unto you. And first 5360 we will speake of the North part, for that the same is of most weight and importance. So sone as it shall appere that the enemy is brought doune, and

the stoutest rebell either cut of, or driven to that wretchedness that he is no longer able to hold up hand, but will come into any conditions, which I assure my self will be before the end of the second Winter, I wish that there be a generall proclamation made, that whatsoever outlawes will freely come in, and submit themselves to her Majesties mercy, shall 5370 have liberty so to do, where they shall either find that grace they desire, or return againe in safety: upon which it is likely that so many as survive, will come in to sue for grace, of which who so are thought meete for subjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or else all of them, for I thinke that all will be but a very few; upon condition and assurance that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Majesties ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of life and liberty, 5380 and be onely tied to such conditions as shall be thought by her mete for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt but that they will all most readily, and upon their knees submit themselves, by the proofe of that which I saw in Mounster. For upon the like proclamation ther, they all came in tagged and ragged, and when as afterwards many of them were denied to be received, they bad them doe with them what wolde, for they would not by noe meanes returne, 5390 nor goe forth. For in that case who will not accept almost of any conditions, rather then dye of hunger and misery?

1. 5366, 'his head': l. 5390, 'for . . . not' from Collier, Morris, etc.

Eudox. It is very lykely so. But what then is the ordinance, and what be the condicions which you will purpose unto them, that shall reserve unto them an assurance of lyfe and libertye?

Iren. Soe soone as they have given the best assurance of them selves which may be required, which must bee I suppose some of their principall men to 5400 remaine in hostage one of another, and some other for the rest, for other suretye I reckon of none that may bynde them, neyther of wyfe, neyther of children, ynce then perhappes thay wold gladly be rydd of both from the famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stript quite of all there warlike weapons, and then, these conditions sett downe and made knowne unto them; that thay shalbe brought and removed with such creete as they have, into Lympter, wher thay shalbe placed, and have 5410 land given them to occupy and to lyve uppon, in such forte as shalbecome good subiectes, to labour thencforth for there lyvinge, and to apply them selves unto honest trades of Civility as thay shall every one be founde meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then, a Gods name, will you place them in Lynster? or will you finde out any new land ther for them that is yet unknowne?

Iren. Noe, I will place them in all the countrye of the Birnes and Toolles, which Feagh McHugh hath, 5420 and in all the landes of the Cavanghes, which are now in rebellion, and all the landes which will fall to hir Majestie there-about, which I knowe to be very spacious and large yeanough to

L 5396, 'propose': L 5410, = *Leinster*.

contayne them, being very nere twenty or thirty myles wide.

Eudox. But what then will ye doe with all the Birnes, the Tooles, and the Cavanaghes, and all thofe that now are joined with them?

Iren. At the fame very tyme, and in the fame 5430 manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulfter, will I alfoe have yt made to thefe; and uppon ther fubmiffion therunto, I will take lyke affurance of them as of thother. After which I will tranflate all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulfter, with there Creete, and what els they have left them, the which I will caufe to be devided amongeft them in fome meete forte, as each may therby have fomewhat to fustayne him felfe a while withall, untill, by his further travell and labor of 5440 the yearth, he fhallbe able to provide himfelfe better.

Eudox. But will you then give the lande frely unto them, and make them heires of the former Rebels? foe may you perhapps make them heires alfo of their former villanies and diforders; or how els will you dyfpofe of them?

Iren. Not fo; but all the landes I will give unto Englifhmene whom I will have drawne thither, whoe fhall have the fame with fuch eftates as fhallbe thought 5450 meete, and for fuch rente as fhall eft-fones bee rated: under every of thofe Englifh men will I place fome of thofe Irifh to be the tenanntes for a certayne rent, accordinge to the quantyty of fuch lande as every man fhall have allotted unto him, and fhallbe

l. 5434-5, 'After . . . others' from Collier, Morris, etc.

founde able to meete, wherein this special regard shalbe hadd, that in noe place under any lande lorde there shall remaine of them planted together, but dysperfed wide frome there acquaintances, and scattered far abroad thorough all the country: for that is the evill which I nowe fynde in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell altogether by there septes, and severall nacions, so as they may practife or conspire what they will; wheras if there were English shedd amongest them and placed over them, thay should not bee able once to styrr or murmur, but that yt should be knowne, and thay shortned accordynge to there demerite. 5460

Eudox. Ye have good reason; but what rating of rentes meane you? to what end doe you purpose the same? 5470

Iren. My purpose is to rate the rente of all those landes of her Majestie in such sorte, unto those English men as shall take them, as thay may be well able to lyve thereuppon, yeilding hir Majestie a reasonable cheiferie, and also give a competent maintenance unto the garrisons, which shall ther be left amongest them; for these soldiours (as I told you) remayning of the former garrisons, I cast to mantaine uppon the rent of those landes which shalbe escheated, and to have them devided through all Ireland in such places as shalbe thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the course of the Romaines observed in the conquest of England, for thay planted of ther legions in all places convenient, the which thay caused the country to mantayne, 5480

L. 5456, 'weelde': L. 5484, 'used.'

cuttinge uppon every porcion of land a reasonable rente, which thay called Romeſtot, the which might nott furcharge the tennante or freholder, and defray the pay of the garrifon : and this hath beene alwais 5490
 obſerved in all princes in all countries to them newly ſubdued, to ſett garrifons amongeſt them to contayne them in dutye whoſe burden they made them to beare ; and the want of this ordinaunce in the firſt conqueſt of Ireland by Henry the Second, was the cauſe of ſoe ſhorte decay of that government, and the quicke recovery againe of the Iriſh. Therfore by all meanes it is to be provided for. And this is it that I would blame, if it ſhould not miſbecom me, in the late plantying of Munſter, that noe care was had 5500
 of this ordinaunce, nor any ſtrenth of a garrifon provided for, by a certayn allowance out of all the ſayd landes, but only the preſent profit looked unto, and the ſaf continewance therof ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But ther is a band of foldiours layed in Mounſter, to the mayntenance of which, what odds is there whethere the Quene, receiving the rent of the countrye, doe give pay at hir pleaſure, or that ther be a ſettled allowance appoynted unto them out 5510
 of ther landes there ?

Iren. There is great oddes, for nowe that ſayd rent of the country is not uſually applied to the pay of the ſoldyars, but it is, (every other occaſion comming betwene,) converted to other uſes, and the ſoldier in times of peace diſcharged and neglected as unneceſſary ; wheras if the ſayd rent were appoynted and ordayned by an eſta bliſhment to this end only,

it should not bee turned to any other ; nor in trou-
blous times, upon every occasion, her Majestie be so 5520
troubled with fendinge over newe soldiers as she now
is, nor the country ever should dare to mutine, having
still the foldiar in ther necke, nor any forraine enmy
dare to invade, knowinge ther so stronge a garrison
allwais to receave him.

Eudox. Sith then you thinkee this Romescott of
the pay of the foldier uppon the lande to be both
the redyest way to the foldier, and lesse trouble-
some to hir Majestie, tell us, I pray you, how
ye wold have the sayd landes rated, that both a 5530
rente may rise therout unto the Queene, and also
the souldiours receive pay, which (me seemes) wilbe
harde ?

Iren. First we are to consider how much lande
there is in all Ulster, that according to the quantitie
thereof we may cesse the sayd rente and allowance
yffuing thereout. Ulster, as the auncient recordes of
that realme doe testyfie, doeth contayne Nine Thousand
plough landes, every of which plowe landes con-
tayneth six score acres, after the rate of xxi. foot to 5540
every perch of the sayd acre, which amounteth in
the whole unto 124000 acres, every of which plowe
landes I will rate at xlvjs. 8d. by the yeare ; which
is not much more then 1d. for an acre, the which
yerly rent amounteth in the whole to xvij[000]l,
besides 6s. 8d. chiefrie out of every plow-land. But
because the county of Louth, being a parte of Ulster,
and contayning in yt vij. h. and xij. plow-landes, is not

1. 5544, '1½d.' : 1. 5546, 'besides . . . plow-land' from Collier,
Morris, etc.

wholy to escheat unto her Majestie as the rest, thay
 having in all these warrs continewd for the most parte 5550
 duetyfull, though otherwise a great parte therof is now
 under the rebels, ther is an abatement to be made
 out of iiij h. or v h. plowe landes, as I estimat the
 same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly
 rente of xl [vis. 8d.] out of every plow land, like as
 the escheated landes doe, but yet shall pay for ther
 composition of cesse towards the maintenance of the
 soldier xxs. out of every plow lande: foe as ther is to
 be deducted out of the former some iij h. yearly, the
 which may neverthelesse be supplied by the rent of 5560
 the fyshings, which are exceding great in Ulster, and
 alsoe by an increase of rente in the best landes, and
 those that lye in the best places nere the sea-coast.
 The which xviii [thousand] pounds will defray the
 entertaynment of xv. hundred soldyers, with some
 overplus toward the pay of the victualls which are
 to be employed in victualing of these garrisons.

Eudox. So then, belike, ye meane to leave
 xvc. = 1500) soldyers in garrison for Ulster, to
 be payed principally out of the rent of those 5570
 landes which shall there escheat unto her Majestie.
 The which, wher I pray you, will you have them
 garrisoned?

Iren. I will have them devided into 3 parts; that
 is, vc. (= 500) in every garrison, the which I will
 have to remayne in thre of the sayd places where
 they were before appoynted; to weete, vc. (= 500)
 at Straban and about Loghfoyle, and foe as thay
 may hold all the passages of that parte of the country,

l. 5559, '200 or 300l.': l. 5576, 'same.'

and some of them be put in wardes, uppon all the 5580
straights thereabouts, which I know to be such, as
may stope all passages into the country one that
fide; and some of them alsoe uppon the Bann, up
towards Logh Sidney, as I formerly directed. Also
other v.c. at the fort uppon Logh-earne, and wardes
taken out of them which shalbe layde at Farman-
nagh, at Belicke, at Ballifhannon, and on all the
straights towards Connagh, the which I knowe doe
so strongly commaunde all the passages that way,
as that none cann passe from Ulster into Connagh, 5590
without ther leave. The last v.c. shall also remaine
in their forte in Monoghan, and some of them be
drawen into wardes, to kepe the keyes of all that
country, both downwardes, and also towards Orlyes
countrie, and the pale; as some at Eniskilline, some
at Belterbert, some at the Blacke forte, and so alonge
that river, as I formerly showed in the first plantyng
of them. And moreover at every of these fortes, I
wold have the feate of a towne layed forth and
incompassed, in which I wold wish that there should 5600
inhabitants of all fortes, as merchantes, artificeres,
and husbanmen, to be placed, to whome ther shold
be charters and franchises graunted to incorporat
them. The which, as it wilbe no matter of difficulty
toe draw out of England perfonnes which wold very
gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne
those partes to great commodity, and bring ere longe
to her Majestie much profit; for those places are
fite for trade and traffique, having most convenient

1. 5586, 'out . . . which' from Collier, Morris, etc. : 1. 5599, 'state,'
and so in MS., but 'feats' from Collier, etc., accepted.

outgates by [rivers] to the sea, and ingates to the 561
richest partes of the lande, that thay wold sone bee
enriched, and mightily enlarged, for the very seating
of the garrisons by them, besides, the safty and
assurance which they shall worke unto them, will alsoe
draw thither store of people and trades as I have
sene ensampled at Mariburgh and Phillipstowne in
Leinstor, wher by reason of those two fortes, though
ther were but fmale wardes left in them, there are
two good townes now growen, which are the greatest
stay of both those two countries. 562

Eudox. Indeed me semes 3 such townes, as ye
say, wold doe very well in those places with the
garrisons, and in shorte space wold be so augmented,
as thay wold be able with little [helpe] to inwall
them selves strongley: but, for the plantyng of all
the rest of the country, what order will yee take?

Iren. What other then as I sayd to bringe people
out of England, which should inhabit the same;
whereunto though, I doubt not, but great troupes
would be ready to runn, yet for that in such cases, 563
the worst and most decayed men are most ready to
remove, I would wishe them rather to be chosen out
of all partes of this realme, either by discrefion of
wise men therunto appointed, or by lott, or by the
drumme, as was the ould use in sending forth of
Collinies, or such other good meanes as shall in ther
wisedome be thought metest. Amongst the cheife
of which I wold have the lande set into segniores, in
such sort as yt is now in Mounster, and devided into
hundredes and parishes, or wardes, as it is in England, 564

. 561c, 'rivers' from Morris, for 'divers.'

and layed out into sheires as yt was aunciently ;
vist. the countie of Downe, the countye of Antrim,
 the countie of Lowth, the countye of Armagh, the
 countie of Cavan, the countye of Colrane, the countie
 of Monaghon, the countye of Tiron, the countie of
 Fermannagh, the countie of Donegall, being in all
 10. Over all which I wish a Lord Prefident and a
 Counsell to bee placed, which may keepe them
 afterwarde in awe and obedience, and minister unto
 them justic and equity. 5650

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your plott
 for Ulster, and now I desire to heare your like opinion
 for Cannagh.

Iren. By that which I have already sayd of Ulster,
 yee may gather my opinion for Cannagh, beinge
 very anfwereable unto the former. But for that the
 landes, which shall escheat unto hir Majestie, are not
 so intyrelie togeather as that thay cann be accounted
 unto one some, it nedeth that thay be considered
 severally. The province of Cannagh contayneth in 5660
 the whole, as appeareth by recorde at Dublin, vii
 thousand and twoe hundred plowe landes of the
 former measure, and is of late devided into six
 sheires or countyes : the countie of Clare, the countye
 of Letrim, the county of Roscaman, the county of
 Galway, the county of Maio, the county of Sligoh.
 Of the which, all the county of Slygoh, all the
 county of Maio, the most parte of the county of
 Roscomon, the most parte of the countie of Lietrim,
 a great parte of the county of Galway, and some of 5670
 the county of Clare, is lyke to escheate unto hir

1. 5665, '*Leutrum*': 1. 5666, '*Gallowaye*': *ib.*, '*Sleugho*.'

Majestie for the rebellion of there present possessors. The which two counties of Sligoh and Maio are supposed to containe almost iij [thousand] plowe landes, the rate wherof, ratable to the former, I valewe almost at vj [thousand] li. p. ann. The countie of Roscomon, savinge what pertayneth to the howse of Roscomon and some fewe other English there lately feted, is all out, and therefore it is wholly lykwise to escheat to her Majestie, savinge those 5680 porcons of the English inhabitantes; and even those English doe, as I understand by them, pay as much rente to hir Majestie as is set upon those in Ulster, countyng ther composition money therewithall, so as it may runn all into one reconinge with the former two countyes: So that this countye of Roscomon, containyng xij.c. plowe landes, as yt is accounted, amounteth to ij [thousand] iiijc. poundes by the yeare, which with the former twoe countyes rent maketh about viij [thousand] li. for the former wanted 5690 somwhat. But what the escheated landes of the countyes of Galway and Lietrim will rise unto is yet uncertayne to define, till survey thereof be made, for that those landes are intermingled with the Earle Clanricard, and others [lands]; but it is thought that thay be thone halfe of both those countyes, foe as thay may bee counted to the valewe of one whole countye, which containeth above one thousande plow-landes (for so many the least county of them comprehendeth,) which maketh 5700 two thousand poundes more, that is, in all, x or xi thousand poundes. Thother two counties must

l. 5679, 'one': l. 5690, '8300*li.*': l. 5701, '2000*li.*'

remain till ther escheates appeare, the which lettynge passe as yet unknowne, yet thus much is knowne to be accounted for certayne, that the composition of these twoe counties, beinge rated at xxs. everye plowe lande, will amounte to above xiiij [thousand] li. more: all which being layd together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto xiiij [thousand] poundes, the which some, together 5710 with the rét of the escheated landes in the twoe last countyes, which cannot yet be valued (beinge, as I doubt not, lesse than a thousand poundes more) will yeild largely unto a thousand men and ther victuallers, and a thousand pounds over towards the Governor.

Eudox. Ye have me thinckes, made but an estimate of those lands of Cannaght even at a very venter, so as it should be harde to build any certaintye of charge to be raised uppon the same. 5720

Iren. Not altogether yet uppon uncertantyes; for thus much may easily appeare unto you for certayne, as the composition money of every plowelande amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally understande, that my purpose is to rate all the landes in Irelande at xxs. every plowelande, for there composition towards the garriison. The which I knowe, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, wilbe redyly and most gladly yeilded unto. Soe that there beinge in all 5730 Ireland (as appeareth by there old rentes) 43920 plowelandes, the same shall amounte to the somme

1. 5718, 'those . . . of' from Collier, Morris, etc. : 1. 5731, 'records,' Collier, Morris, etc.

likewise of 43920 poundes, and the rest to be reared of thescheated landes which fall to hir Majesty in the said provinces of Ulster, Connoght, and that parte of Leinster under the rebels; for Mounster wee deale not withall.

Eudox. But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay composition uppon thescheated landes as you doe uppon the rest? for soe me thinckes, you reckon all together. And that sure were to much to pay vij nobles out of every plowe lande, and composition money besides, that is xxs. out of every plowelande. 5740

Iren. Noe, you mistake me; I put onely vij nobles rent and composition both uppon every plowe lande escheated, that is xls. for composicon, and vjs. viijd. for cheifery to hir Majestie.

Eudox. I doe now conceiue you; procede then I pray you, to the appointing of your garrisons in Cannaght, and shew us both howe many and where 5750 you would have them placed.

Iren. I wold have one thousand laide in Cannaght in two garrisons; namely, v.c. in the county of Maio, about Clan McCostulaghcs, which shall kepe Mayo and the Burckes of McWilliam Enter: thother v.c. in the county of Clanricarde, about Garrandough, that thay may contayne the [Conhors] and the [blank] Burkes ther, the Kellies and Macknyars with all them about; for that garrison which I formerly placed at Lougharne will serue for all occasions in 5760 the county of Sligah, being nere adjoyning therunto, so as in one nighets march they may be allmost

1. 5754, 'Costalors': 1. 5754, 'the Moores': 1. 5757, [blank]: 1. 5758, illegible in our MS.

in any place thereof when need shall requier them. And like as in the former places of garrison in Ulster, I wished iij corporat townes to be planted, which under the safegarde of the strenth shall dwell and trade safely with all the country about them, soe would I alsoe wish to be in this of Connaght; and that besides, there were another establisht at Athlone, with a convenient warde in the castle there 5770 for ther defence.

Eudox. What should that need, feing that the Governor of Cannagh useth to ly there alwaies, whose prefence wilbe a defence to all that towneship.

Iren. I know he doth soe, but that is much to be dyliked that the Governor should lye so farre of, in the remotest place of all the province, wheras it were meter that he should be continually abidinge in the middest of his charge, that he might both 5780 looke out alike into all places of his goverment, and also be soone at hande in any place, where occasion shall demaunde him; for the prefence of the Governor is (as you sayd) a great stay and brydle vnto them that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in Mounster, wher the dayly good thereof is continually apparant; and, for this cause alsoe doe I greatly mislike the lorde Deputies seating at Dublin, being the outest corner in the realme, and left neding the awe of his prefence; wheras, me seemes it were 5790 fitter, since his proper care is of Leinster, though he hath care of all besides generally, that he should seat himselfe about Athie, or therabouts, uppon the skirt

1. 5788; 'dislike.'

of that unquiet contry, so as that he might fit, as it were, at the very mayne mast of the shipp, whenc he might easly overlooke and some tymes overreach the Mores, the Butlers, the Dempfes, the Ketines, the Conners, Ocarrell, Omoloy, and all that heape of Irish nations which ther ly hudled together without any to over-rule them, or contayne them in 580⁰ dutye. For the Irish man, I assure you, feares the goverment noe longer then he is within sight or reach.

Eudox. Surely me thinckes herin you observe a matter of much importance, more then I have heard ever noted ; but sure that semes so expedient, as that I wonder it hath beene hertofore over omitted ; but I suppose the instance of the cittizens of Dublin is the greatest let there.

Iren. Truly, then it ought not so to bee ; for noe cau[s]e have they to feare that it wilbe any hinder- 581⁰ ance for them ; for Dubline wilbe still, as it is, the key of all passages and transportacons out of England thither, to noe lesse profit of those citzens then it now is, and besides other places will herby receave some benefytt. But let us now, I pray you, come to Lynster, in the which I wold wish the same course to be observed as in Ulster.

Eudox. You meane for the leavinge of the garrisons in there fortes, and for planting of English in all those countreyes betwene the county of Dubline and 582⁰ the county of Wexforde ; but those waft wild places, I thinke, when thay are woone unto her Majestie, that ther is none that wilbe hasty to seek to inhabite.

ll. 5794-5, 'as it were,' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 5806, 'ever.'

Iren. Yes ynough, I warrante, for though the whole tracte of the countrie bee mountaine and wodie, yet there are manie goodlie vallies amongst them, fytt for fayre habytation, to which those mountaines adjoynd wilbe a greate increafe of pasturage; for that countrie is a verie great foyle 5830 of cattell, and verie fitt for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, save onelie for barlie and oates, and some places for rye, and therefore the larger peniworth may be allowed vnto them, though other wyfe the wyldnes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the foile, foe as I doubt not but it will finde inhabitants and undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much then doe you thinke that all those landes which Pheagh McHugh holdeth under 5840 him may amount unto, and what rent may be reared therout to the mayntenance of the garrisons that shalbe layd there?

Iren. Truly, it is ympossible by ayme to tell yt, and as for experience and knowledge, I doe not thinke that there was ever any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will, if it please you, gesse therat, uppon grounde only of there judgment which have formerly devided all that countrie into twoe sheires or countyes, namely the county of Wickloe, and the county 5850 of Fernes: the which twoe I see noe cause but thay should holy escheat to her Majesty, all but the barrony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormwoodes auncient inheritance, and hath ever bene in his possession; for all the whole lande is the Quenes,

l. 5829, 'adjoyning': l. 5853, 'Ormond-is.'

unlesse there be some graunt of any parte therof to be showed from hir Majestie : as I thinke there is only of New Castle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Masterfon, the rest, being almost thirty miles over, I doe suppose 5860 canne contayne noe lesse then two thousande plowelandes, which I will estimat at iiij [thousand] li. rent, by the yeare. The rest of Leinster, being vij countyes, to weete, the countye of Dubline, Killdare, Catherlogh, Wexford, Kilkenye, the Kinges and the Queenes countye, doe containe in them 7400. plowelandes, which amounteth to so many poundes for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole xi [thousand] iiijc. l., the which some will yeild pay unto a thousand fouldiars, little wantynge, 5870 which may be supplied out of other landes of the Cavenaghes, which are to be escheated to her Majestie for rebellione of ther possessions, though otherwise indeed they be of hir owne auncient demaine.

Eudox. It is a great reason. But tell us now where you wold with those garrisons to be laied, whether alltogether, or to be dyspersed in fundry places of the country ?

Iren. Mary, in fundry places, to weete, in this sorte, or much the like as may be better advised, 5880 for cc. in a place I doe thinke to be enough for the safegarde of the countrie, and kepinge under all sudden upstartes, that shall seeke to trouble the peace thereof : therefore I wishe [200.] to be layede at Ballinocros for the kepinge of all bade persons

1. 5865, '*Katarlaghe*': 1. 5873, '*possessours*' Collier, Morris, etc. : 1. 5885, '*Ballinacorrih*.'

from Glammalour, and all the fastenes thereabouts, and also to conteynne all that shalbe planted in those lands thenceforthe. Another 200. at Knockloughe in there former place of garrison, to kepe the Briskagh and all those mountaines of the Cavanaghes; 200. more to lye at Fearnese, and upwardes, inwardes upon the Slane; 200. to be placed at the forte of Leix, to restraine the Mores, Offorie, and Ocarroll; other 200. at the forte of Ofaley, to carbe the Oconnors, Omoloys in [Mac] Coghlane Maccughejan, and all those Irish nations borderinge thereabouts.

Eudox. Thus I see all your thousande men bestowed in Leinster: what faye you then of Meath, which is the firste parte?

5900

Iren. Meath, which conteyneth bothe Eftmeath and Westmeath, and of laite the Analy, nowe called the countye of Langforde, is accounted therunto: But Meath it selfe (accordinge to the ould recordes) 4320. plowlandes, and the countye of Langford 947., which in the whole make 5267 plowlandes, of which the compositiō monye will amounte likewise to 5267 li. to the maintenance of the garrifone. But because all Meath, lyinge in the bosome of that kingdome, is alwayes quiet ynough, yt is needeleffe to put anye garrison there, soe as all that charge may be spared. But in the countye of Longforde I wishe 200. footemen and 50. horsen to be placed in some cōvenient seate betwene the Annalie and the Breine, as aboute Lough Silone or some

5910

l. 5890, 'Briskelagh': l. 5896, 'Maccagehan': l. 5915, 'Brenie . . . Sillon.'

like place of that ryver, foe as they myght keepe both the Oneales, and alsoe the Ofarralles, and all that outskirte of Meathe in awe; the which use upone everye lighte occasion to be stirring, and having contynuall enmitye amongeste themselves, 5920 doe therby oftentymes trouble all those partes, the charge wherof beinge 4400 and odde poundes is to be cut oute of that compositione money for Meath and Longforde, the overplus, beinge almost 2000 li. by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majestie.

Eudox. It is worth the harkening unto. But nowe that you have done with Meath, proceed I praye you to Mounster, that wee may see howe it will rise ther for the manteynance of the garrifone.

Iren. Monster conteyneth by recorde at Dublyne 5930 16000 plowlandes, the compositione whereof, as the reste, will make 16000 li. by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. soldyers to be mainteyned for the defence of that province, the charge, which with the victualers wages, will amount to 12000 li. by the yeare; thother 4000li. will defray the charges of the Precydencc and the Confell of that province.

Eudox. The reckininge is easye; but in this accompt, by your leave, me thinkes you are deceived, for in this some of the compositione money you 5940 accompt the landes of the undertakers of that province, whoe are, by ther graunte frome the Queene to be free frome all such impositions whatsoever, exceptinge there only rente, which is surely ynoughe.

l. 5917, 'O Relyes': l. 5922, '3400': ll. 5930-1, These two lines, 'Monster . . . 16000' are written before 'Eudoxus' and again here, in our MS.

Iren. Yee saye true, I did soe; but the same 20 s. for everye plolande I ment to have deducted out of the rente due upone them to her Majestie, which is noe hindrance, nor charge at all more to her Majestie then it nowe is, for all that rente which she receves of them, she putteth forth againe to the mayntenaunce of the Presidencie there, the charge whereof yt doth scarfelye defraye; whereas in this accompte bothe that charge of the Presidencie, and alsoe of 1000 foldyors more, shalbe maynteyned. 5950

Eudox. It should be well, if it coude be brought to that. Nowe wher will you [have] your 1000 men garryfoned?

Iren. I would have 100 of them placed at the Bantrie where is a moste fytt place, not onlye to defende all that side of the countrie west parte frome forraine invasion, but alsoe to answere all occasions of troubles, to which that countrie, being soe remote, is verye subiecte. And surelye here alsoe would be placed a good towne, havinge both verye good haven and plentifull fishing, and the land beinge already escheated to her Majestie, but beinge forcaible kepte from her by a rough tayle kerne that proclaimes hime selfe the bastarde sonne of the Erle of Clancar, beinge called Donell Mac Chartie, whom it is meet to forsee to cut of; for [as] whensoever the Erle shall dye, all those landes, after hime, are to come to her Majesty, he is like to make a foule stire there, though of hime selfe of noe power, yet through supportance of some others whose lye in the winde, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another 5960 5970

100 woulde I have placed at Castlemaine, which should kepe all Desmonde and Kerrye, for it answereth them both most convenientlye: Alsoe aboute Kylmore in the countye of Corke would I have 200 placed, which shoulde breake that neste 5980 of theves there, and answere equallye both the countye of Lymbricke, and alsoe the countye of Corke: Another 100 whold I have lye at Corke, aswell to comand the towne, as alsoe to be readye for anye forreine occasiōe: likewise at Waterforde, would I place 200, for the same reasons, and alsoe for other privie causes, that are noe lesse importante. Moreover on the side of Arlo, nere to Maskrye Werke, which is the county of the Bourkes, aboute [Kill-patricke,] would I have 200 to be garrisoned, 5990 which shoulde skowre both the White Knightes countrye and Arlo, and Muskrye Wherkes, by which places all the passages of theeves doth lye, which convaie there stealthe from Mounster downwarde towards Tipperarie, and that Englishe Payle, and from the English Pale alsoe uppe unto Mounster, whereof they use to make a common trade. Besides that, ere longe I doubt the countye of Tipperarie yt selfe will neade such a strength in yt, which were good to be there readye before the evill fall, that 6000 is daylye of some expected: and thus you see all your garrisons placed.

Eudox. I see it right well, but lett me I praye you, by the way aske the reason whie in those cyties of Mounster, namely Waterforde and Corke, you rather placed garrysons then in all the others in

Irelande? For they maye thinke them selves to have great wrounge to be so charged above all the reste.

Iren. I will tell you: those two cytties, above all the reste, doe offer an ingate to the Spanyarde moste 6010
fytlie; and alsoe inhabytants of them are moste ill affected to the Englishe government, and moste frendes to the Spanyardes; but yet, because they shall not take exceptione to this, that they are charged above all the reste, I will alsoe laye a charge upon the others likewise; for in deede it is no reason that the corporate Townes, enjoyinge great franchises and priviledges from her Majestie, and livinge therby not only safe, but drawinge to them the wealth of all the lande, should live so free as not to be partakers of the 6020
burthen of this garryson for there owne safetye, specially in this time of trouble, and seinge all the reste burdened; and therefore, I will thus charge them all ratably, accordinge to there abilities, towards there mayntenance, the which her Majestie may yf she please, spare oute of the charge of the reste, and reserve towards her owne costes, or adde to the charge of the Presydenche in the Northe.

Waterford	100.	Clonmell	10.	Dundal[k]e	10.
Corke	100.	Cashell	10	Mollinger	10.
Lymricke	50.	Fedred	10.	Newry	10.
Galwaye	50.	Kilkiny	25.	Trime	10.
Kinfaile	10.	Wexford	25.	Ardrye	10.
Dinglecushe	10.	Treddagh	25.	Kells	10.
Youchall	10.	Rosse	25.	Dubline	100.
Kilmallocke	10.				
Suma 490. [Wrong=630].					

l. 6028, 'other': l. 6030, 'Corke 50': l. 6031, 'Fetherte': l. 6034, 'Dingellechooishe': ib., 'Drogheda': l. 6037, Morris, '580.'

Eudox. It is casie, Iren : to laye a charge upone any towne, but to forsee howe the same maye be answered and defrayed is the chiefe parte of good 6040
advifement.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them I knowe to be foe reſonable, as that it will not much [be] felte ; for the porte townes which have benefitte of ſhippinge maye cutte it eaſelye of there tradinge, and in inlande townes of their corne and cattall : nether doe I ſee, but ſince to them the benefitte of peace doth redownde, that they ſpecially ſhould beare the burden of ther ſafegardes and defence, as wee ſee all the townes of the lowe 6050
countrie doe cut upone them ſelves an exciſe of all thinges towardes the maintenance of the warre that is made in ther behalfe, to which thoughte the[y] feare not to be compared in riches, yett are to be charged accordinge to their poverty.

Eudox. But now that yowe have ſett upone theſe forces of ſoldyers, and provided well as you ſuppoſe, for ther paye, yett there remaineth to forcaſte howe they may be vitualed, and where purveyance therof may be made ; for in Irelande yt ſelfe I cannot 6060
ſee howe anye thinge almoſte is to be had for them, beinge alreddie foe pittifullye waſted as it is with this ſhorte tyme of warre.

Iren. For the firſte two yeares indeed it is needefull that they be vitualled out of Englande throughlye, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, aforehande. Which time the Engliſhe Paile ſhall not be burdened at all, but ſhall have tyme to recover

ll. 6053-4, '*they are not*,' Morris ; '*theſe are not*,' Collier.

them selves ; and Mounster alsoe, beinge reasonablie
well stored, will by that tyme, if God send sefonable 6070
wether, be throughly well furnished to supplye a
greate parte of that charge, for I knowe there is a
great plentye of corne sent over sea from thence,
the which if they myght have sayle for at home,
they would be glad to have money so neare hande,
speciallye yf they were straightlye restrayned from
transportinge of it. Thereunto alsoe there wilbe a
great healpe and furtherance gyven to the puttinge
forwarde of husbandrye in all meate places, as here-
after shall in due place appeare. But hereafter, 6080
when thinges shall growe to a better strengthe, and
the country be replenished with corne, as in shorte
space yt will if it be well folowed, for the country
people themselves are greate plowers, and smale
spenders of corne, then woulde I wishe there should
be good store houses and magazines erected in all
those great places of garrisons, and in all greate
townes, aswell for the victuallinge of soldyers and
shippes, as for all occasions of sudder services,
as alsoe for preventinge of all tymes of dearth and 6090
scarfitye : and this want is much to be complayned
of in Englande above all other countryes, whoe,
trustinge to much to the usuall blessinge of the
earth, doe never forcaste anye such hard sseasons,
nor any such sudder occasions as these troublesome
tymes maye everye daye bringe forthe, when it
wilbe too late to gather provisiõe from abroad,
and to bringe perhapes from farre for the furnishinge
of shippes or soldyers, which peradventure maye need

tymes, and daylye danger which is threatned to this 6130
realme by the Kinge of Spaine: and thereupone to
bestowe all my foldyers in [such] fort as I have
donne, that noe parte of all Irlande shalbe able to
dare foe much as quinch. Then will I bring estfones
in my reformacon, and thereupon establishe such an
order of governmente as I may thinke meteste for the
good of that realme, which beinge once establisshed,
and all thinges put into a righte way, I dowbt not
but they will rune one farely. And though they
would ever seeke to swarve afyde, yet shall they not 6140
be able without forraine violence once to remoove,
as you your selfe shall sone, I hope, in your owne
reasone readelye conceve; which if it shall ever
appere, thene maye her Majestie at pleasure with-
drawe some of the garrifone, and torne ther paye
into her purse, or if she will never please foe to
doe (which I would rather wish), then shall she
have a number of brave oulde foldyers alwayes
readye for anye occasion that she will ymploe
vnto, supplinge there garrifones with fresh ones 6150
in there steed; the maintenance of whome shalbe
noe more charge to her Majestie then nowe the
realme is; for all the revinue thereof, and muche
more, she spendeth, even in the moste peaceable
tymes that are there, (as things nowe stande). And
in tyme of warre, which is sure nowe everye
vij yeare, she spendeth infynite treasure besides to
smale porpofe.

Eudox. I perceve your porpofe; but nowe if you
have thus strongly made waye unto your reformacon, 6160
as that I see the people foe humbled and prepared

that they will and muste yeald to any ordynance that shalbe pouer them, I doe much desire to understand the same: for in the begininge you promised to shewe a mean howe to redresse all those inconveniences and abuses, which you shewed to be in that state of government, which nowe standeth ther, as in the lawes, customes, and religione: wherein I would gladly knowe firste, whether, in steed of these lawes, you would have newe lawes made? ⁶¹⁷⁰ for nowe, for oughte that I see, you maye doe what you please.

Then I see Eudox that yowe well remember our firste purpose and doe rightlie contynue the course thereof. Firste therefore to speake of lawes, since we firste beganne with them, I doe not thinke yt convenient though nowe it be in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make newe; for that shoud breed great trouble and confusione, aswell in the Englishe now dwellinge and to be ⁶¹⁸⁰ planted, as alse in the Irish. For the Englishe, havinge hene trained up alwayes in the Englishe government, will hardly be enduced unto any other, and the Irish will be better drawne to the Englishe, then the Englishe to the Irish government. Therefore since wee cannot now applye lawes fitte to the people, as in the firste institutione of comone-welthes it ought to be, wee will applye the people, and fitt them to the lawes, as it more conveniently maye be done. The lawes therefore we resolve shall abyde in ⁶¹⁹⁰ the same sorte that they doe, bothe Common Lawes and Statutes, onely such defects in the Comone

Lawe, and inconueniens in the Statutes, as in the begininge wee noted, and as men of deep insighte shal advise, may be changed by some other newe actes and ordynances to be [by] a Parlyamente there confirmed : as those of tryalls of Ples of the Crowne, and private righte betwene parties, colorable conuaiances, [and] accessaries.

Eudox. But howe will those be redressed by Parli- 6200
mente, when as the Irishe, which swaye moste in Parlamente, as you said, shall oppose them selves againste them?

Iren. That maybe well avoyded : for nowe that foe manye free-holders of Englishe shalbe established, they togetheer with Burgeses of townes, and such other loyall Irishe men as may be preferred to be Knightes of the shire, and such like, wilbe able to beard and counterpose the reste ; whoe alsoe, beinge nowe broughte more in awe, will the more easelye 6210
submite to anye such ordynances as shalbe for the good of them selves, and that realme generallye.

Eudox. You say well, for the increffe of the Freeholders, for ther nombers will hereby be greatlye augmented ; but howe shall it passe throughe the higher house, [which] will styll confiste all of Irishe?

Iren. Marie, that alsoe maye be redressed by example of that which I hard was donne in the like case, by Kinge Edwarde the Theerd, as I 6220
remember, whoe, beinge greatlye barred and crossed by the billes of the Clargie, they beinge then by reasone of the Lord Abbote and others, too many

L 6197, 'tromles' (sic) in our MS. : L 6220, 'bearded' : L 6221, 'Lordes,'

and stronge for them, soe he could not for there forwardnes, order and reforme thinges as he desired, was advised to dyrecte forth his writtes to certaine Gentlemen, and of the beste abilitie and truste, intitlinge them therin Barrons, to serve and sytt as Barrons in the next Parlyment. By which meanes he had soe manye Barons in his Parleme[n]te, as were able to weighte downe the Charge and there frendes : the which Barons they saye, were not afterwarde lordes, but onelye Barronits, as sundrye of them doe yett retayne the name. And by the like devise her Majestie maye nowe likewise curbe and cut shorte those Irishe unrulye lordes that hinder all good proceedinges. 6230

Eudox. It semeth noe lesse then for reforminge of all those inconveniente statutes which yee noted in the beginnunge, and redressing of all those evell costomes, and lastelye, for settinge sounde religione amongest them : mee thinkes yee should not neade anye more to over-goe those particulers againe, which you menconed, nor anye other which might besides be remembred, but to leave to the reformacon of such a Parleme[n]te, in which, by the good care of the Lorde Deputye and Confell, they maye all amende. Therfore nowe that you maye come to that genarall reformacon which you spake of, and bringinge in of all that establisshement, by which you said all men should be conteyned in duetie ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violēt restinge of thinges by sharpe punyshmente. 6240

l. 6226, 'of the,' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 6231, 'were' miswritten as 'in our MS. : l. 6232, 'remaine,' Collier, Morris, etc.

Iren. I will foe at your pleasure, the which me
 femes by noe meanes can be better plotted, then
 by example of fuche other Realmes as have ben
 annoyed with the like evelles, Ireland nowe is, and
 ufeth styll to be. And firste in this Realme of
 England, yt is manifeste, by the reporte of the
 Cronycles and other aunciente writers, that it was 6260
 greatly infected with robbers and outelawes, which
 lurked in woodes and faste places, whence they vfed
 often tymes to breake forth into the highe wayes,
 and sometymes into smale villages to robbe and
 spoyle. For redresse wherof it is written that Kinge
 Allured, or Alfride, whoe then raigned, did deuide
 the relme into shires, and the shires into hundredes,
 [and the hundredes] into rapes, Rapentackes, and
 wapentackes into tythinges : So that tenn tythinges
 made an hundred, and five made a laythe or wea-
 pentacke, of which tenn, each one was bounde for 6270
 another, and the eldest or best of theme, whom they
 called the Tythingman or Bourroughfolder, that is,
 the eldest plege, became suretye for all the reste.
 Soe that if anye one of theme did starte into anye
 undutiful actione, the Burroughfolder was bounde
 to bringe hyme forth, whoe joyninge estefones with
 all his tythinge, would folowe the loofe perfone
 through all places, till they brought hyme in. And
 if all the tythinge fayled, then all the lathe was
 charged for the tythinge, and if that lathe fayled, then 6280
 all the hundreth was demanded for theme ; and if
 the hundreth, then the shire, whoe joyninge estfones

l. 6272, 'Burfe-holder': l. 6280, miswritten 'tythe' in our MS., and
 so onward.

altogether, would not rest tyll they had founde oute
 and delyvered in, that unlawfull felowe which was
 not ameanable to lawe. And herin yt semed, that
 that good Saxon Kinge folowed the Confell of
 Jethro to Moyse, who advysed hym to devide the
 people into hundreds, and to sette Captaines and
 wise men of trust over them, which shoulde take
 the charge of them, and ease hym of that burden. 6290
 And soe did Romulus, as you may reade, devyde
 the Romaines into trybbes, and the tribbes into
 centuryons or hundreds. By this ordynaunce this
 Kinge brought this realme of Englande, which
 before was most trooblefome, unto that quiet state,
 that noe one badd person could stirre that he was
 [not] streight taken hould of by those his thythinge,
 and ther Burrowfolder, whose beinge his neighbour
 or next kindfeman was pryvie to all his wayes, and
 looked narrowly to his life. The which institutione 6300
 yf it were observed in Irland, would worke that
 effecte which it did then in Englande, and kepe all
 men within the Compasse of duetie and obedyence.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before ;
 for, as I remember, you said that ther was a greate
 disproportionne betwene Englande and Irlande, soe
 as the lawes which were fittinge of the one would
 not fitt the other. Howe comes it then now,
 that ye would transferre a principall institutione from
 England to Irland ? 6310

Iren. This lawe was not made by a Norman

l. 6284, 'undutifull' : ll. 6295-6, 'unto . . . stirre' from Collier,
 Morris, etc. : l. 6296, 'stare' : l. 6297, 'of his owne' : l. 6305, 'you
 . that' from Collier, Morris, etc.

conqueror, but by a Saxon Kinge, being at what tyme England was verye like to Irland, as nowe it standes: for it was, I tould you, annoyed greatly with robbers and outlawes, which trobled the whole realme, everye corner havinge in it a Robyn Hooode, that kept all woodes, and spoiled all passingers and inhabitants, as Irland nowe haith; foe as, me femeth, this ordynance would fitt verye well, and bring them all into one.

6320

Eudox. Then, when you have thus tithed the comanaltye, as you say, and fet Burrowfolders over them all, what would you doe when yee came to the gentlemē? would you hold the fame corse?

Iren. Yee, marye, most specially; for this you muste knowe, that all the Irishe almoſte boſte them selves to be gentlemē, noe lesse then the Welchmen; for if he cane deryve hymselfe from the heade of a sept, as most of them can, they are [so] experte by there Bardes, then foe holdeth hyme selfe a gentlemā, and thereupon scorneth eftſones to worke, or vse anye harde laboure, which he saith is the lise of a peſſant or churle; but thenceforth either becometh a horſeboye, or a ſtorage to ſome kerne, inuring hyme ſelfe to his weapone, and to the generall traide of ſtealinge, (as they count it). Soe that if a gentleman, or anye worthye yoman of them, have anye childrene, the eldeſte of them perhappes ſhalbe kepte in ſome order, but all the reſte ſhall ſhifte for them ſelves, and fall to this

6330

6340

1. 6320, 'awe': 1. 6330, 'then' miswritten 'e': 1. 6332, 'handye': 1. 6335, miswritten 'endeavouringe': 1. 6336, 'gentell,' Morris; 'gentlemanly,' Collier: ib., 'as . . . it' from Collier, Morris, etc.

occupacon. And it is a commen use amongest some
 of there beste gent [lemen] tenantes sonnes, that soe
 soone as they are able to use there weapons, they
 streight gether to themselves three or foure strauglers,
 or kernes, with whome wanderinge a while idellye vpe
 and downe the countrie, takinge onely meate, he
 at laste falleth unto some badde occasione that he
 shalbe offrede, which beinge once made knowen,
 he is thencforthe counted a mane of worth, in whom
 there is corrage; whereupon there drawe to hime
 manye other like loose younge men, which, stirringe
 hime up, with encouragement, provoke hyme shortlye
 to flatte rebellion; and this happens not onely
 in the sonnes of gentle[men], but ostentymes by
 there noblemen, specially there base borne sonnes,
 as there are fewe without some of them. For they
 are not onely not ashamed to acknowledge them,
 but alsoe to boiste of them, and use them in such
 secrett services as they themselves will not be
 seen in, as to plague there enemyes, spoyle there
 neighbors, to opresse and crush some of [their]
 owne to stubborne freholders, which are not tract-
 able to theire badde willes. Two such bastardes of
 the Lord Roches there are nowe out in Mounster,
 whom he doth not only countenance but alsoe
 pryvilye mainteyne and relyve mightely amongest
 his tenantes. Such other is therof the Erle of
 Clancarte in Desmond, and manye otheres in many
 other places.

Eudox. Then it semeth that this ordynance of

l. 6344, 'three or foure' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6361, 'and
 crush,' *ibid.*: l. 6366, 'against.'

tythinge them by the pole is not only fitt for the gentlemen, but alsoe for the noblemen, whom I would [have] thought to have bene foe honourable mynded, as that they should not need suche a base kinde of lyvinge, beinge bounde to there allegiance, [who] should rather have held in and stayed all others from undutifulnes, then need to be forced thereunto them selves.

Iren. Yet foe it is, Eudox : but yet because that noblemē cannot be tythed, there beinge not manye 6380 tythinges of them, and because a Barrowe holder over them should not only be a great indignitye, but alsoe a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the comander of tenne, I holde it meet that there were onelye fewerties taken of them, and one bounde for another, wherbye, if anye shall swarve, his fewerties shall for safegarde of ther bandes bringe hyme in, or seeke to serve upon him : and besydes, I would wifh them all to be sworne to her Majestie, which they never 6390 yet were, but at the first creatyon ; and that oath would sure contayne them greatly, or the breach of yt bringe them to shorter vengeance, for God useth to punishe perjurye sharply. So I read, in the raigne of Edward the 2, and also of Henry the 7, when the tymes were very broken, that there was a corporate oath taken, of all the lordes and best gentlemen of fealty to the Kinge, which nowe is noe lesse nedfull, because many of them are suspected to have taken an other oath privylye 6400 to some badd purpose, and therupon they have received the Sacramente, and ben sworne to a

preift, which they thinke bindeth them more then their alleagance to their Prince, or love of their countrye.

Eudox. This tythinge of the comon-people, and takinge suretyes of lordes and gentlemen, I like very well, but that yt wilbe very troublefome: should yt not be as well to have them all booked, and the lordes and gentlemen to take all meaner forte upon 6410 themselves? for they are beft able to bringe them in, whensoever any of them flarted out.

Iren. This inded Eudoxus hath bene hitherto, and yet is a comon order amongft them, to have all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen, but yt is the worft order that ever was deviſed; for by this bokinge of men, all the inferyour fort are brought under the commaundes of their lords, and forced to followe them into any actyon whatſoever. Now this ye are to underſtand, that all the rebellyons 6420 which ye ſee from tyme to tyme hapen in Ireland, are not begune by the comon people, but by the lords and captaines of countryes, upon pride or wilfull obſtinacye againſt the government, which whensoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and ſuch followers, as thinke themſelves bound to goe with them, becauſe they have boked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reaſone that you have fewe ſuch badd occaſyons here in England by reaſon that the noble 6430 men howeever they ſhould hapen to be evill diſpoſed, have no comande at all over the comynalty, though dwellinge under them, becauſe every man ſtandeth

l. 6424, 'againſt the government,' Collier, Morris, etc.

upon himfelfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne fayth and firme affurance : the which this manner of tythinge the powles will worke alfo in Ireland. For by this the people are broken into many fmall parts, like lytle freames, that they cannot eafely come together into one heade, which is the princypall regard that is to be had in Ireland to 6440 kepe them from growinge into fuch a head, and adheringe unto greate men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot well fee how this can be brought about, without doinge greate wronge unto the noble men there ; for at the conquett of the realme, thofe greate fignoryes and lordfhips were given them by the King, that they fhould bee the ftronger againfte the Irifh, by the multitude of followers and tennauntes under them : all which hould their tenementes of them by fealtye, and fuch 6450 fervices, wherby they are by the firft graunte of the King, made bound unto them, and tyed to rife out with them upon all occafyons of fervice. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputies have rayfed any generall oftinges, the noble men have claymed the leadinge of them, by graunt from the Kings of England under the Greate Seale exhibyted ; fo as the Deputy[e[s]] would not refufe them to have the leadinge of them, or yf they did, they would fo worke, as none of they[r] followers 6460 fhould rife forth to the oftinge.

Iren. Yee fay very true ; but will ye fee fruite of thofe grauntes ? I have knowne when thofe lords have had the leadinge of their owne followers under them to the generall oftinges, that they have for the

same cut upon every plowland within their country forty shillings or more, wherby some of them have gathered above vij. or viij. c. li., and others much more into there purse, in lieu wherof they have gathered unto themselves a number of lose kernes out of all parts, which they have caryed forth with them, to whome they never gave penny of entertaynment, allowed by the contry or forced by them, but let them feed upon the contries, [and] extorte upon all men where they cam; for that people will never aske better entertaynment then to have a coullour of service or imployment geven them, by which they will powle and spoile so outragiously, that the very enemy cannot doe much worse: and besides turne them to the enemy. 64

Eudæx. It semes the first intents of these grauntes was against the Irishe, which nowe some of them use against the Queene her selfe: But now what remedye is there for this? or how can these grauntes of the Kings be avoyded, without wronge of those lords which had those landes and lordships geven them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough; for most of those lords, since the first grantes from the Kings by whome these landes were geven them, have sence bestowed the most parte of them amongst their kins-folke, as every lord perhaps in his tyme hath geven one or another of his principall castells to his yonger sonnes and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him; and others they have sold, and others bought, which were not in their

⁶⁴ "within . . . country" from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6479, "all the country," 2162.

first grauntes, which nowe neverthelesse they bringe within the compas therof, and take and exacte upon them, as theire first demeanes of all those kindes of services, yea and the very wilde Irishe exactyons as Coynie and Lyverye for him, and such like, by which 6500 they pole and utterly undoe the pore tefiantes and frehoulders under them, which ether through ignorāce knew not theire tennors, or through greatnes of theire newe lords dare not chalenge them; yea, and some lords of countryes also, as greate ones as themselves, are nowe by stronge hand brought under them, and made theire vassalls. As for example Arundell of the Strande in the County of Corke, who was auntyently a greate lord, and able to spend 3500 li. by the yeare, as apeareth by good recordes, 6510 is nowe become the Lord Barryes man, and doth to him all those services, which are due unto her Majestie. For reformacon of which, I wish that theire were a commissiſſyon graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have seene one recorded in the ould counsell Boke in Mounster: that was sent forth in the tyme of Sir William Drurye unto persons of specyall trust and judgment to enquire thoroughout all Ireland, beginninge in one countye first and so restinge a while untill the same were setled, by the 6520 verdicte of a sounde and substantiyall jurye, howe every man houldeth his landes, of whome and by what tennor, so that everye one should be admitted to shewe and exhibite what right he hath, and by what services he houldeth his lande, whether in cheife or in soccage, or in knight service, or els

. 6502, 'unto': L. 6513, 'I wish,' Collier.

foever. Therupon would apeare, first howe all those greate English lords do claime those greate services, what signoryes they usurpe, what wardships they take from the Queene, what landes of hers they 653: concealde: and then, howe those Irish captaines have encroched upon the Queenes frehoulders and tennantes, how they have translated the tennors of them from English houldinge into Irishe Tanistre, and defeated her Majestie of all her right and duetyes which are to acrow to her therabout, as wardshipps, liveryes, marriages and fines of allyenacons, with many other comodities; which now are kepte and conceald from her Majesty to the vallowe of 60000 li. yearly, I dare undertake, in 654: all Ireland, by that which I knowe in one countye.

Eudox. This, Iren. would seme a dangerous commission, and redy to stirre uppe all the Irish in rebellion, who knowinge that they have nothinge to shewe for all those lands which they hould, but their swordes, would rather drawe them then suffer their landes to be thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neyther should their landes be taken away from them, nor the uttermost advantages enforced against them: But this by descetryon of the com- 655: missioners should be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majesties meaninge to use any such extremetye, but onely to reduce thinges into order of English lawe and make them hould their landes of her Majestye and to restore to her her due services, which they detayne out of those landes

1. 6528, 'greate' (1st) from Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 6532, 'of countreyes,' *ibid.*: 11. 6543-4, 'in rebellion,' *ibid.*: 1. 6547, 'drawne,' *ibid.*

which were auntyently helde by her Majestye. And that they should not onely [not] be thrust out, but also have estates and grauntes of their landes newe made to them frō her Majestye, so as they should 6560 thenceforth hould them rightfullye, which they nowe usurpe most wrongfully ; and yet withall I would wish that in all those Irish countryes there were some land reserved to her Majestyes free disposytyon for the better contayninge of the rest, and entermynglinge them with English inhabitants and customes, that knowledg might styll be had by them of all their doinges, so as no manner of practise or conspiracye should be in hand amongst them, but notice should be given therof by one meanes or another, and their 6570 practises prevented.

Eudox. Truly neither can the Irish, nor English lords, thinke themselves wronged, or hardly delt withall herin, to have that indeed which is none of their owne at all, but her Majestyes absolutely, geven unto them with such equall condicons, as that both they may be assured therof, better then they are, and also her Majestye not defrauded of her right utterly ; for yt is a greates grace with a prince, [to] take that with condicons which is absolutely her owne. Thus 6580 shall the Irish be well satisfied, and as for the greates men which had such grauntes made them at first by the Kings of England, [it] was in regard they should kepe out the Irish, and defend the Kings right, and his subjectes : but now feinge that, in sted of defendinge them, they robb and spoyle them, and, in sted of kepinge out the Irish, they doe not onely

l. 6559, 'none' : l. 6565, 'entermeddling'

... in these wastes in these lands and
... and they themselves
... with learning with them 6590
... and marriages with them
... what there is there but those
... be either revoked,
... for which
... in my opinion they
... and reformed
... very rare at the
... more civil when
... to be wide
... 6600

... these do need
... for they are
... and
... more malicious
... left over.

... how comes
... here?

... the land is theirs,
... by their hands but conquered by their
... and that they are wronged by the new 6610
... whom they
... with a greater
... a dogge. [And for]
... deputies

... 1633, 'privileges,' *ibid.*:
... 1633, 'at . . . first,' *ibid.*:
... 1660, 'right'—miswritten 'English' in
... 1661, 'morning': 1. 6612, 'Allomark.'

and Justices of the land, they thinke that the like authoritye should be comytted unto you and the charge of the Realme lefte in their hands; which, for that they se now otherwise disposed and that trust not given them (which their auncestors had) 6620 they thinke them selves greatly indignified and disgraced thereby, and so growe both discontented and undutyfull.

Eudox. In truth, Irenyus, this is more than ever I hard, that the English-Irish there should bee worse then the wild Irish: O Lord, howe quickly doth that country alter mens natures! It is not for nothinge I perceave that I have heard, that the Councill of England thinke yt not good polycye to have that realme reformed, or planted with 6630 English, lest they should growe so undutyfull as the Irish, and become much more dangerous: as appeareth by the example of the Lacyes in the tyme of Edward the Second, which you spake of, that shoke of their religion to their naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, devisinge to make him Kinge of Ireland.

Iren. No tymes have bene without bad men: But as for that purpose of the Councill of England, which ye speake [of,] that they should kepe that 6640 Realme from reformacon, I thinke, they are most lewdlye abused, for their greate carfulnes and earnest endeavors do witnesse the contrarye. Neyther is yt [the] nature of the countrye to alter a mans manners, but the badd mindes of them, whom

1. 6635, 'allegiaunce,' Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 6636, 'and . . . Bruce, *ibid.*

having bene brought uppe at home under a straight rule of dutye and obedyence, beinge alwayes restrayned by sharpe penaltyes from lewde behavior, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawes so slackely tended, and the hard [restraint] which 6650 they were used unto nowe slacked, they growe more lose and carelesse of theire dutye. As yt is the nature of all men to love libertye, so they become flatt libertynes, and fall to flatt licentyousnes, more bouldly daringe to disobay the lawe, through presumptyon of favor, and freindshippe, then any Irish dare.

Eudox. Then yf it be so, me thinkes your late advilement was very evell, whereby you wished the Irish to be sowed and sprinckled with the English, 6660 [and] in all the Irishe countryes to have English planted amongst them, for to bringe them to Eng[lish] fashons, since the English be soner drawne to the Irishe, then the Irish to the English: for as I said before, [if] they much rune with the streame, the greater number will carry awaye the lesse: Therefore me semes by this reason yt should be better to parte the Irishe and English, then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, Eudox: but where there is no 6670 good staye of government, and stronge ordinances to hold them, there inded the fewer will followe the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall goe foremost, and the worst shall followe. And therfore since Ireland is full of her owne nacon, that may not

L 6654, 'all,' Collier, Morris, etc.: L 6664, 'you,' *ibid.*

be rooted [out], and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke yt best by an unyon of maners, and conformytye of mindes, to bringe them to be one people, and to put away 6680 the dislikefull concept both of the one, and of thother, which wilbe by no meanes better then by this interminglinge of them : that neyther all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translatynge of them and scatteringe them in small numbers amongst the English, not onely to bringe them by dayly conversatyon unto better likinge of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurte. And therfore when I come to the tythes, I will tythe them one with 6690 another, and for the most parte will make the Irish man the tything-man, wherby he shall take the lesse exceptyon to partiallitye and yet be the more tyed therby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lath, him will I make an Englishman, or Irish man of no small assurance : as also when I come to apointe the Elderman, that is the head of the hundreth, him will I surely chuse [to be] an English man of specyall regarde, that may be a stay and pillar of 6700 all the Boroughs under him.

Eudox. What do you meane by your hundred ? and what by your Borough ? By that, which I have red in aunicyent recordes of England, one hundred did contayne a hundred villages, or as some faye a c. plowlandes, beinge the same which the Saxons called Cantred ; the which cantred, as I finde it recorded

in the blacke booke of Irelande, did contayne 30, Villattas terra, which some call, quarters of land, and every Villatta can maintayne 400 cowes in pasture, and the 400. cowes to be devided in 4 hundredes, so as none of them shall come nere another: every Villatta containeth 17 plowlandes, as is there set downe. And by that which I have red of a borough it signifyeth a free towne, which had a principal officer, called a head borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, to keepe for the same franchises and priviledges granted them by the King, wherof yt was called a free borough, [and] of the lawyer *Franciplegiū*. 6710

Now both that which ye sayde, Eudox: is true, and yet that which I sayd not untrue; for that which ye speake of devidinge the contrey into hundreds was a devise of the lands of the Realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, who were thus devided by the poll: so that an c. in this sense signifyeth a c. pledges, which were under the aid and assistance of their alderman, the which, as I supposed, was also called a waapentacke, so named of touching the weapon or sparke of their alderman, and swearing to folowe him faythfully, and love their Prince trulye. But others thinke that a waapentacke was ten hundreds or Boroughs: likewise a borough, as I here use yt, and as the old lawes still use yt, is not a borough towne, as they now call yt, that is a franchist towne, but a mayne pledge of c. free persons, therefore called a free borough or as ye say *Franciplegiū*: For Borh in old Saxon say signifyeth pledges or sureties, and 6730

yet yt is so used in some speches, as Chaucer 6740 sayth St. John to *barrowe*, that is for assurance and warrantye.

Eudox. I conceive the difference. But now that ye have thus devided the people into these thythings, and hundreds, howe will you have them so preserved and continued? for people do often chaunge theyr dwellinges, and some must dye, whilst other some doe growe up into strength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. These hundreds I would [wifh] to assemble themselves once every yeare with their pledges, and 6750 to present themselves before the justices of peace, which shalbe thereunto apointed, to be surveyed and nombred, to se what change hath happened since the yeare before; and, the defectes to supply of those yonge plantes late growne uppe, which are diligently to be overloked and vewed of what condition and demeanor they be, so as pledges may be taken for them, and they put into order of some thythinge: of all which alteracons note is to be taken, and bookes made thereof accordingly. 6760

Eudox. Now mee thinkes Irenius, ye are to be warned to take good hede, leaste unawares ye fall into the inconveniencies which you formerly founde faulte with in others; namely, that by this bokinge of them, you do not gather them into another head, and havinge broken their former strength, do not againe unite them more strongly: for every Alderman, havinge all his fre pledges of his hundred under his command, may me thinkes, yf he be yll disposed, drawe all his companye into any evill 6770

ll. 6746-7, '*often . . . doe*,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6765, '*a new*,' *ibid*.

actyon. And likewise, by this assemblinge of them once a yeare unto their Alderman by their weapon-tackes, take heede least ye also give them occasyon and meanes to practise any harme in any conspiracye.

Iren. Neyther of both is to be doubted; for the aldermen and headborrowes will not be such men of power and countenance of themselves, beinge to be chosen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither, yf he were, is his hundred at his comaund further then his Princes service; and also every thyng man 6780 may controll him in such a case. And as for the assemblinge of the hundred, much lesse is any danger therof to be doubted, feinge yt is before a iustice of peace, or some high constable to be therunto apointed: so as of these thynges there can no peryll ensue, but a certayne assurance of peace and greate good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and subiected to their Prince. Moreover for the [better] breakinge of these heades and sectes, which I tould you was one of the greatest 6790 strengthes of the Irishe, me thinkes, yt should do very well to renewe that ould statute that was made in the reigne of Edward the Fourth in England, by which yt was comaunded, that wheras all men that used to be called by the name of their sectes, accordinge to their severall nacons, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take unto himselfe a severall surname, eyther of his trade or facultye, or of some quallety of his bodye or mynde, or of the place where he dwelte, so 6800 as everye one should be distinguished from other,

or from the most parte, wherby they shall not onely not depend upon the head of their secte, as nowe they doe, but also shall in shorte tyme learne quyte to forgett this Irish natyon. And herewithall would I also wish all the Oes and the Mackes which the head of the sectes have taken to their names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguyshed; for that the same beinge an ould manner (as some sayth) first made by O Brin, for the strengthninge of the Irish, 6810 the abrogatinge therof will asmuch infable them.

Eudox. I like this ordinaunce very well; but now that you have thus devided and distinguished them, what other order will you take for their maner of lyfe? for all that, though perhaps yt may kepe them from disobedyence and disloyaltie, yet will yt not bringe them from their barbarisme and savadge lyfe.

Iren. The next [thing] that I will doe shalbe to apointe to every one, that is not able to live of his frehoulde, a certayne trade of lyfe, to which he shall find himselfe fitteste, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade he shalbe bounde to followe, and live onely therupon. All trades therefore [it] is to be understode [are to be] of iij kindes, manuell, intellectuall, and mixed, th'one containinge all such as nede the exerceyse of bodely labor to the performance of their professyon; th'other consistinge onely of the exerceyse of the witte and reason; the third parte of bodely labor, and parte of the witte, but dependinge 6830 [most] of industrye and carefulnes. Of the first sorte

1. 6806, 'Oes'—miswritten 'Oathes' in our MS.: l. 6829, 'fort,' Collier, Morris, etc.

be all handycrafts and husbandrye labor. Of the seconde be all scyences, and those which are called the liberall Arts. Of the thirde is marchandize and chafferye, that is, buyinge and sellinge; and without all these iij there is no commonwealth can almost confyst, or at the leaste be perfecte. But the wretched realme of Ireland wanteth the most princypall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therefore in seekinge to restore her state yt is specyall to be looked unto. But because 6840 of husbandrye, which supplyeth unto us all things necessarye for foode, whereby we cheifly live, therefore yt is first to be provided for. The first thinge then that we are to drawe these newe tythed men unto, ought to be husbandrye. First, because yt is the most easye to be learned, nedinge onely the labor of the bodye. Next, because yt is most naturall and most needefull; then, because it is most naturall; and lastly, because yt is most enemy to warre, and most hateth unquietnesse, as the Poet sayth, 6850

—— “bella execrata collonis:”

But husbandrye beinge the nurse of thriste, and the daughter of industrye and labor, detesteth all that may worke her scathe, and destroy the travell of her hands, whose hope is all her lives comforte unto the plough: therefore are all those Kearne, Stochaus, and Horfboyes, to bee drawen and mad to imploye that ablenesse of bodye, which they [were] wonte to use to thefte and villainye, hencforth to labor and

1. 6839, ‘*reforme*,’ Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 6847, ‘*generall*,’ *ibid.*: 1. 6847, ‘*most . . . and*,’ *ibid.*: 1. 6854, ‘*hinderance*’: 1. 6856, ‘*Siokaghs*’: 1. 6857, ‘*driven*,’ Collier, Morris, etc.

husbandrye. In the which, by that tyme they have 6860
spente but a lytle payne, they will find such swetenes
and happy contentment, that they will hardly after-
wardes be hayled away from yt, or drawne to their
wonted leude lyfe in theivery and rogerye. And
beinge thus once entered therunto, they are not
onely to be countenanced and encoradged by all
good meanes, but also provided that their children
after them may be brought up in the same, and
suced in the rome of their fathers. To which end
there is a Statute in Ireland alredy well provided, 6870
which comaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmē
shalbe trayned uppe in their fathers trade, but yt is,
God wot, very slenderly looked unto.

Eudox. But do you not counte, in this trade of
husbandrye, pasturinge of cattell, and kepinge of
their cowes? for that is reckoned as parte of hus-
bandrye.

Iren. I knowe yt is, and nedfull to be used, but I
doe not meane to allowe any of these able bodyes,
which are able to use bodely labor, to followe a few 6880
cowes grafinge, but such impotente persons, as beinge
unable for stronge travell, are yet able to drive cattell
to and froe the pasture; for this kepinge of cowes
is of yt self a very idle lyfe, and a fit nursery for
a theife. For which cause, ye remember, I dislyked
the Irishman for kepinge of Bollyes in Somer upon
the mountayne, and lyvinge after that savadg forte.
But yf they will alwayes fede any cattle, or kepe
them on the mountaynes, let them make some

l. 6860, '*industry*:' l. 6863, '*to*' miswritten '*from*' in our MS. :
l. 6873, '*exercised*,' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 6888, '*algates*,' *ibid*.

townes nere to the mountaynes syde, where they may dwell together with neighbors, and be converfante in the vewe of the world. And, to fay truth, though Ireland be by nature counted a greate foyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better mannred, then to have fuch huge increafe of cattell, and no increafe of condicons. I would therfore wifh that there were fome ordinaunce made amongft them, that whatfoever kepeth twentye kine fhould kepe a plough goinge, for otherwife all men would fall to paftringe, and none to hufbandrye, which is a greate caufe of this dearth nowe in England, and a caufe of the ufuall stealthes nowe in Ireland: For loke in all countreyes that live in fuch forte by keepinge of cattell, and you fhall find that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and greatly given to warre. The Tartaryans, the Mufcovites, the Norwayes, the Gothes, the Armenyans, and many other do witnes the fame. And therfore fince nowe we purpofe to drawe the Irifh from defire of warre and tumults, to the love of peace and civylitye, yt is expediente to abridge their custome of hearinge, and augment their trade more of tyllinge and hufbandrye. As for other occupacons and trades, they ned not to be enforced to, but every man bound onely to followe that he thinks himfelfe apteft for. For other trades of artificers wilbe occupied for very neceffityes, and conftreyned ufe of them; and fo likewise will marchandize for the gaine therof; but learninge and bringing up in liberall fcyences, will not come of yt felfe, but muft

L. 6896, 'of good,' Collier, Morris, etc.

be drawne on with straight lawes and ordinaunces : And therfore yt were mete that such an acte were ordayned, that all the sonnes of lords and gentlemen, and such others as are able to bringe them up in learninge, should be trayned uppe herin from their childhodes. And for that end everye parish shalbe forced to kepe one pettye scholemaster, adjoininge unto the parish charge, to be the more in veiwe, which should bringe up their children in the first rudiments of letteres : and that, in every country or 6930 baroney, they should kepe another able scholemaister, which should instructe them in gramer, and in the principyles of scyences, to whom they shold be compelled to send their youth to be discyplined, wherby they will in shorte tyme growe uppe to that civyll conversafyon, that both the children will loath the former rudnes in which they were bred, and also their parentes will, even by the ensample of their yonge children, perceave the foulnes of their owne brutishe behavior compared to theirs : for learninge 6940 hath that wonderfull power of yt selfe, that yt can soften and temper the most sterne and savadge nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bringe them from their uncivill life soner then learninge and discypline, next after the knowledge and feare of God. And therfore I doe still expecte, that ye should come thereunto, and set some order for reformacon of religion, which is first to be respected ; accordinge to the sayinge of CHRIST, " First seke the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousnes 6950 therof."

Iren. I have in mynde so to doe ; but let me,

I pray you, first finish that which I had in hand, wherby all the ordinances which shall after be set downe for religion may abide the more firmly, and be observed more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound to some trade of life, which shall be particularly entered and set downe in tythinge bookes, yet perhaps there wilbe some straglers and runagates which will not of themselves come and yeld themselves to this order, and yet after the well finishinge of the present warre, and establishinge of the garisons in every stronge place of the countrey, where their wonted refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out, or yf they doe, they will sone be brought in by the eares : But yet afterwarde, least any one of these should swarve, or any that is tyed to a trade should afterwarde not followe the same, according to this institutyon, but should straggle upp and downe the countrey, or mich in corners amongst their freinds idlye, as Carrowe, Bardes, Jesters, and such like, I would wish that there were a Provost Marshall appointed in every shire, which should continually walke thorough the countrey, with half a dozen, or halfe a score horsemen, to take up such loose persons as they should finde thus wandring, whom he should punish by his owne authoritye, with such paynes as the persons should seeme to deserve : for yf he be but once so taken idelye roginge, he may punish him more lightlye, as with stockes, or such like : but yf he be found agayne so loytringe, he may scourge him with whips, or rodde, after which

1. 6958, '*some honest*,' Collier, Morris, etc. : 1. 6966, '*shortly*.'

yf he be taken agayne, let him have the bitternes of the Marshall lawe. Likewise yf any relickes of the rebellion be found by him, that eyther have not come in and submitted him selfe to the law, or that havinge once come in, breake forth againe, and walke disorderlye, let them taft of the same cuppe in Gods name; for yt was due to them 6990 for their first guilte, and nowe beinge revived by their later losenes, let them have their first deserte, as nowe beinge found unfitt to live in a common-wealthe.

Eudox. This were a good maner; but me thinkes yt is an unnecessary charge, and also unfitte to continue the name or forme of any marshall lawe, when as there is a proper officer appointed already for these turnes, to witt the sherife of the shiere, whose particuler office yt is to walke continually 7000 up and downe his Bayliwicke, as ye would have a marshall, to snatch up all those runagates and unprofitable members, and to bringe them to his gaole to be punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not so, me semes; for though the sherife have this authoritye upon himselfe to take upe all such traytors, and imprison them, yet shall he not doe so much good, nor worke that terror in the hartes of them, that a marshall will, whom they 7010 shall knowe to have power of life and death in such cases, and specially to be appointed for them: Neyther doth yt hinder but that though yt perteyne to the

1. 6987, 'themselves,' Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 7000, 'peculiar': 1. 7008, 'stragglers,' Collier, Morris, etc.

sherife, the sheriffe may do therin what he can, and yet the marshall may walke his courfe beydes; for both of them may doe the more good, and may terrifye the idle rogue, knowinge that though he have a watche upon thone, yet he may light upon th'other. But this provifo is nedfull to be had in this case, that the sherif may not have the like power 7020 of life as the marshall hath, and as heretofore they have bene accustommed; for yt is dangerous to give power of lyfe into the hands of him which may have benefyte by the partyes death, as, yf the sayd lose liver have any goodes of his owne, the Sherife is to seize therupon, wherby yt hath comen often to passe, that some who have not perhaps deserved judgements of death, though otherwise perhaps offendinge, have bene for their goods sake caught up, and caryed straight to the boughes; a thinge inded 7030 pittypfull and very horryble. Therefore by no meanes would I wishe the Sherife to have such authoretye, nor yet to imprison that loofell tyll the Sessions, for soe all gaoles might sone be filled, but [to] send him to the Marshall, who, estones findinge him faultye, shall give him mete correctyon, and rid him away forthwith.

Eudox. I do nowe perceave your reason well. But come we nowe to that wherofe we earst spake, I meane, to religion and religious men; what order 7040 will you sett amongst them?

Iren. For religion lytle have I to say, my self beinge as I sayde, not professed therin, and yt selfe beinge but one, so as there is but one waye therin;

1. 7014, 'the sheriffe,' Collier, Morris, etc.

for that which is true onely is, and the rest are not at all, yet in plantinge of religion this much is nedfull to be observed, that being not fought forceable to be impressed into them with terror and sharpe penaltyes, as nowe is the manner, but rather delivered and intymated with myldnes and gentlenes, so as yt may not be hated before yt be understod, and their Professors dispised and rejected. For this I knowe that most of the Irish are so farre from understandinge the popish religion as they are of the protestantes professyon; and yet do they hate that though unknowne, even for the very hatred which they have of the Eng[lish], and of their government. Therefore yt is expedient that some discreete ministers of their owne contry-men be first sent amongst them, which by their mild perswasions and instructyons, as also by their sober lyfe and conversacon, may drawe them first to understand, and afterwarde to imbrace, the doctrine of their salvacon; for yf that the auntyent godly fathers, which first converted them, beinge infidells, to the faith, were able to drawe them from infidelyte and pagansye to the true beliefe in CHRIST, as S. Patricke, and S. Columb, how much more the godly teachers bringe them to the true understandinge of that which they alredy professe? wherein yt is greate wonder to see the odds which is betweene the zeale of Popish Preists, and ministers of ye Gospell; for they spare not

l. 7046, 'thus,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 7051, 'afore': ll. 7065-6, 'which . . . faith,' Collier, Morris, etc.: ll. 7067-8, 'to . . . Columb,' *ibid.*: l. 7069, 'more easilie shall,' *ibid.*

to come out of Spaine, from Rome, from Rhemes, by longe toyle and dangerous travell hither, where they knowe perill of death awayteth them, and no rewarde nor ritches is to be found, onely to drawe the people to the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle minifters, having a way for credit and estymacon therby opned unto them, 7080 and having the livinges of the country offred them, without paines, without perill, will neither for the fame, nor for any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good which they might doe by winninge of so many foules to God, be drawne forth from their warme neastes and their swete loves sydes to loke out into Gods harvest, which is even redy for the fickle, and all the feildes yellowe longe agoe: doubtlesse these good ould fathers will, I feare me, rise uppe in the day of 7090 judgment to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, yt is greate pittye, Irin[i]us, that there are none chofen out of the mynifters of Eng[land], good sober, and discreete men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instructe them, and that there ys not asmuch care had of their foules as of their bodies; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over thither they should do small good tyll one enormity be 7100 taken from them, that is, that both they be re-strayned from sendinge their yonge men abroad to other Univerfityes beyond seas, as Rhemes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and that others from abroad

1. 7079, 'some of,' Collier, Morris, etc.

be refrayned for cominge to them; for their lurking secretly in their houses and in corners of the countrye do more hurte and hindrance to religion with their private perswasions, then all the others can doe with their publicke instructyons; and though for these latter there be a good statute their ordeyned, yet the same is not executed, and as for the former there is noe lawe nor order for their restraunte at all. 7110

Eudox. I mervell that yt is no better loked unto and not onely this, but also that which, I remember, you mencyned in your abuses concerninge the profittes and reveuees of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine collorable conveyances are sent continuallye over unto them, to the comfortinge of them and others against her Majesty, for which here in Eng[land] there is good order taken: and why not then aswell in Ireland? For though there be no statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majesty, by her onely prorgative, seize the fruites and profittes of those fugitives lands into her handes, tyll they came over to testefye their true allegeance. 7120

Iren. Indeed she might so doe; but the combrous tymes do perhaps hinder the regarde therof, and of many other good intencons. 7130

Eudox. But why then did they not minde yt in peaceable tymes?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave confideracons, but procede we forward. Next care in religion is to builde up and repaire all the ruine[d] churches:

L. 7131, 'why then' from Collier, Morris, etc.

tyme as the contreye growe more ritche and better inhabited, at which times the tythes and other obvencons will also be more agmented and better vallued : But now that we have thus gone through all theire sorts of trades, and set a course for their good establisment, let us yf you please, goe next 7170 to some other nedfull pointes of other publicke matters, no lesse concerninge the good of the common-wealth, though but accydently dependinge on the former. And first I wish that order were taken for the cuttynge downe and openinge of all paces thorough woodes, so that a wide waye of the space of c. yardes might be layde open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perillous places to be robbed, and sometymes murdered. Next, that bridges were builte upon all 7180 rivers, and all the fordes marred and spilte, so as none might passe anye other waye, but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a small gatehouse sett thereon ; wherof this good will come that no night stealthes, which are comonly driven in bywayes and by blinde fordes unused of any but such like, must be conveyed out of one contrye into another, as they use, but that they must passe by those bridges, where they may be hapely encountred, or easely tracked, or not suffred to passe at all, by 7190 meanes of those gatehouses therein : Also that in all streights and narrowe passages, as betwene twoe bogges, or through any deepe forde or under any mountayne fyde, there should be some litle fortillage, or wodden castell sett, which should kepe and comand

1. 7167, 'oblations' : 1. 7187, 'shall,' Collier, Morris, etc.

that streight, wherby any rebells that should com in the contrye might be stopped the way, or passe with greate perill. Moreover, that all high wayes should be fenced on both sydes, leauinge onely fortye foote bredthe for passage, so as none should be able 7200 to passe but thorough the high waye, wherby theeves and night robbers might be the more easely purfued and encountred, when there shalbe no other waye to drive their stollen cattell but therin [as] I formerly declared. Further, that there should in sondrye convenyent places, by the highe waye [be] townes apointed to be builte, the which should be fre borrowes, and incorporate under Baylifes, to be by their inhabitants well and stronglie trenched, or otherwise fenced with gates at eache syde therof, to 7210 be shutte nightlye, like as there is [in] many places in the English Pale, and all the wayes about yt to be strongly shut uppe, so that none should passe but thorough those townes: To some of which yt were good that the priviledge of a markett were given, the rather to strengthen and enable them to their defence, for nothinge doth sooner cause civillitye in any countrye then many market townes, by reason that the people repayringe often thither for their neds, will daylye se and learne civyll manners of the 7220 better forte. Besydes, there is nothinge doth more staye and strengthen the contrye then such corporate townes, as by profe in many rebellyons have bene proved, in all which when the countryes have swarved, the townes have stood stil and faste, and yelded good releife to the souldiors in all occasyons

1. 7199, '*fenced and shut up*,' Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 7224, '*scene*.'

of service. And lastly there doth nothinge more enrich any contry or realme then many townes ; for to them will people drawe and bringe the fruites of their trades, aswell to make money of them, as to 7230
 suply their nedfull uses ; and the contrymen will also be the more industrious in tyllage, and rearinge all husbandrye comodities, knowing they shall have redy sale for them at those townes : and in all those townes should there convenyent inns be erected for the lodginge and harboringe of all travellers, whoe are nowe oftentimes spoyled by lodginge abroad in weake thatch houfes, for wante of such safe places to shrowde themselves in.

Eudox. But what profitt shall your markett townes 7240
 reape of their markett, wheras each one may sell their corne and cattell abroad in the countrye, and make their secrett bargaynes amongst themselves, as nowe I understand they use ?

Iren. Inded, Eudox : they doe so, and thereby no small inconvenyence doth rise to the comonwealth ; for nowe when any one hath stolne a cowe or a garon, he may secretly sell yt in the countrye without privytie of any, wheras yf he brought yt into a market towne yt would perhaps be knowne, 7250
 and the theife discovered. Therefore yt were good that a straight ordinance were made, that none should buy or sell any cattell but in some open markett (there beinge nowe markett townes everye where at hand) upon a greate penaltie neyther should they likewise by any corne to sell the

l. 7229, '*will all the,*' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 7233, '*shall have,*' *ibid.* : l. 7240, '*townes,*' *ibid.*

fame againe, unlesse yt were to make malte therof; for by such engrossinge and regratinge we see the dearth that nowe comonly raigneth here in England to have bene caused. Hereunto also is to be added 7260 that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaymed throughout all Ireland. That all men should marke their cattell with an open severall marke upon their flankes or buttocks, so as yf they hapned to be stollen, they might appeare whose they were, and they which should buy them might therby suspecte the owner, and be warned to abstayne from byinge of them of a suspected person with such an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely these ordinances seme very expeditious, but specially that of fre townes, of which I wonder that there is such small store in Ireland, and that in the first peoplinge and plantinge therof they were neglected and omytted.

Iren. They were not omitted; for there were, thorough all places of the country convenyente, many good townes feated, which thorough that inundacon of the Irish, which I first tould of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be sene, and of some no signe 7280 at all remayninge, save onely their bare names, but their seates are not to be founde.

Eudox. But how then cometh yt to passe, that they have never since recovered, nor their habitacon bene reedified, as of the rest which have bene noe lesse spoyled and wasted?

Iren. The cause therof was for that, after their

1. 7270, 'ordinances' miswritten 'evidences' in our MS.

defolacōn, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings under collours to repaire them and gather the poore relickes of the people againe together, 7290 of whome havinge obtayned them, they were so farre from reedyfying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavored to kepe them waste, least that, beinge repayred, their charters may be renewed, and the burgesse restored to their landes, which they had nowe in their possessyon; much like as in those ould monuments of abbeys, and religious houses, we see them likewise use to doe: for which cause yt is judged that King Henry the Eighth bestowed them upon them, knowinge that 7300 thereby they should never be able to rise againe. And even so do those Lords, in these ould pore corporate townes, of which I could name diverse but for kindling of displeasure. Therefore as I wished many corporate townes to be erected, so would I againe with them to be free, not dependinge upon the service, nor under the comandment of any but the Governor. And beinge so, they will bothe strengthen all the countrie round about them, which by their meanes wilbe the better 7310 replenished and enriched, and also be as continuall houldes for her Majesty, yf the people should revolt and breake out againe; for without such yt is easie to forrey and over-ronne the whole lande. Let be, for example, all those freboroughes in the Lowe-countrys, which are nowe all the strength therof. These and other like ordinances might be delivered

1. 7294, 'might,' Collier, Morris, etc. : 1. 7303-5, 'of . . . townes,' *ibid.*

for the good establiſhment of this realme, after yt is once ſubdued and reformed, in which yt might afterwardeſ [be] very eaſely kepte and maintayned 320 with ſmall care of the Governor and Councell there appointed, ſo as that yt ſhould in ſhort ſpace yeld a plentyfull reueneue to the crowne of England ; which now doth but ſucke and conſume the treaſurye therof, through thoſe unſound plattes and changfull orders which are daylye deviſed for her good, yet never effectually proſecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your diſcorſe I have not marked any thinge by you ſpoken touchinge the 7330 appointment of the principall officer, to whome you wiſh the charge and performance of all this to be comitted : onely I obſerved ſome ſoule abuſes by you noted in ſome of the late Governors, the reformacon wherof you leſte for this preſente tyme.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the blames of greate magiſtrates to the rebuke of the worlde, and therefore theire reformacon I will not medle with, but leave unto the wiſdome of greater heades to be 7340 conſidered ; onely this much I will ſpeake generally herof, to ſatiſfye your deſyre, that the Government and cheife majeſtracye I wiſh to continue as yt doth, to weete, that yt be ruled by a Lord Deputye or Juſtices, for that it is a very ſafe kinde of rule : But therewithall I wiſh that over him there were placed a Lord Leiſtenante, of ſome of the greateſt perſonages in England (ſuch an one I could name) upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, (and our

last hopes nowe rest) who beinge intituled with that 7350
dignitye, and beinge alwayes here residente, may
backe and defend the good cause of the government
against all malignors, which ells will, through theire
cussing workinge under hand, deprave and pull backe
whatsoever things shalbe well beguise or intended
there, as we comonly see by experyence at this daye, to
the utter ruine and desolacon of the pore Realme, and
this Leiftenancye should be no discountenauncing of
the Lord Deputye, but rather a strengthninge and
maintayninge of all his doinges ; for now the cheife 7360
evill in that government is, that no Governor is
suffred to goe one with any one course, but upon
the least informacon here of this or that, he is
eyther stoped or crossed, and other courses apointed
him from hence which he shall runne, which how
[in]convenient yt is, is at this hower to well felte.
And therfore this should be one principle in the
apointment of the Lord Deputies authoritye, that yt
should be more ample and absolute then yt is, and
that he should have an uncontroled power to doe 7370
any thinge that he, with the advisement of the
Councell, shall thinke mete to be don : for yt is not
possible for the Councell here, to directe a Governor
there, who shalbe forced oftentymes to followe the
necessitye of present occaysons, and to take the
sodayne advantage of tyme, which beinge once
loste will not bee recovered ; whilst, thorough expect-
inge directyon from hence, the delays wherof are
oftentymes through greater affaires most irksome, the
oportunityes there in the meane tyme passe awaye, 7380

1. 7372, '*should*,' Collier, Morris, etc.

and greate danger often groweth, which by such timely prevencon might easely be stopped. And this I remember is worthely observed by Matchavell in his discorfes upon Lyvye, where he comendeth the manner of the Romans government, in giving absolute power to all their Consules and Governors, which yf they abused, they should afterwards derly answere : And the contrary therof he reprehendeth [in] the State of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalytyes of Ittalye, who use to lymytt their 7390 cheife officers so straightlye, as that therby they have oftentymes lost such happy occasyons as they could never come unto againe. The like wherof, who so hath bene conversante in that government of Ireland, hath to often sene their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this could I wish to be redressed, and yet not so, but that in particuler thinges he should be restrayned, though not in generall government ; as namely in this, that no offices should be sould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, 7400 nor no protectyons bought for rewarde, nor noe beves taken [for] captencyes of contryes, nor no shares of bishopricks for nominatinge their bishops, nor no forsaytures, nor dispenfacons with penall statuts geven to their servants or freindes, nor no fellyng of lycences for exportacon of prohibited warres, and specyally of corne and fleshe, with many the like ; which nede some manner of restraunte, or els very greate trust in the honorable disposytyon of the Lord Deputy.

1. 7391, '*they have*,' Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 7392, '*lost such happy*,'
 "id.: 11. 7395-6, '*hindraunce and*,' *ibid.*: 1. 7400, '*for money*,' *ibid.*

Thus I have, Eudox : as breifly as I could, and as 7410
 my remembrance would serve, rund through the state
 of that whole contrye, both to let you see what it
 nowe is, and also, what yt may be by good care
 and amendment : not that I take upon me to change
 the pollicye of so greate a kingdome, or prescribe
 rules to such wise men as have the handlinge therof,
 but onely to shewe you the evils, which in my small
 experience I have observed to be the cheife hindrance
 of the reformacon therof; and by the way of con-
 ference to declare my simple opinyon for redresse 7420
 therof, and establisshinge a good course for that
 government; which I do not deliver for a perfecte
 plotte of myne owne invenfyon to be onely followed,
 but as I have learned and understood the same by
 the consultacons and actyons of very wise Governors
 and Counsellors whome I have sometymes heard
 treathe therof. So have I thought good to sett downe
 a remembraunce of them for myne owne good, and
 your satisfactyon, that who list to overloke them,
 although perhaps much wiser then they which have 7430
 thus advised of that state, yet at leaste, by comparison
 hereof, may perhaps better his owne judgment,
 and by the light of others foregoinge, he may
 followe after with more ease, and hapely finde a
 fayrer waye thereunto then they which have gone
 before.

Eudox. I thanke you, Irenyus, for thys your gentle
 paynes; withall not forgettynge nowe in the shutting
 uppe to put you in mynd of that which you have

l. 7414, 'upon me,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 7426, 'heard,'
ibid.

150 THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

formerly haile promysed—herafter when we shall
meete agayne upon the like good occasyon, ye will
betake unto us these your observacons which ye have
gathered of the Authorities of Ireland.

finys 1596: E. S.

. "Auth." "Authorities" Collier, Morris, etc. but plainly 'Authorities'
—in the original history—in our MS.

II.
LETTERS

FROM

Spenser

(IMMERITO)

TO

Gabriel Harvey

1579-1580.

NOTES

The text of these Letters is drawn from the original book, whose language is given elsewhere.

The names, with small variations from Harvey's answer, is taken from the book where the page is similarly given on some of the text.

The text of the original contains a number of little misprints and mis-readings or mis-transcriptions in your answers, even in Dr. Morris's. It is to be noted that in the first Letter the date is 1658, which may be given 'with' p. 264, l. 91, and by error 1558 or 1559. See the list in Vol. I. on these Letters and other matters.

A. B. G.

¶ TWO OTHER
very commendable Let-
ters, of the same mens vvri-
ting, both touching the foresaid
Artificiall Verifying, and cer-
tain other particulars ;

*More lately delivered vnto the
Printer.*



IMPRINTED AT LON-
don, by H. Bynneman, dvvelling
in Thames Streate, neere vnto
Baynardes Castell.

Anno Domini 1580.

Cum gratia & privilegio Regie Maiestatis.

¶ THREE PROPER

and wittie, familiar Letters:

lately passed betwene two V-
niversitie men: touching the Earth-
quake in Aprill last, and our English
reformed Verifying

*With the Preface of a well-willer to
them both.*



IMPRINTED AT LON-

don, by H. Bynneman, dwelling
in Thames Strete, neere unto
Baynardes Castell.

Anno Domini. 1580.

Cum gratia & privilegio Regie Maiestatis.



LETTERS

FROM

SPENSER (IMMERITO) TO
GABRIEL HARVEY.

TO THE WORSHIPFULL HIS VERY SINGU-
LAR GOOD FRIEND, MAISTER G. H.

FELLOW OF TRINITIE HALL IN CAMBRIDGE.



GOOD Master G. I perceive by your most curteous and friendly Letters your good will to be no lesse in deed, than I alwayes esteemed. In recompence wherof, think I beseech you, that I wil spare neither speech, nor wryting, nor aught else, whensoever, and wheresoever occasion shal be offred me: yea, I will not stay, till it be offred, but will seeke it, in al that possibly I may. And that you may perceive how much your Counsel in al things prevaieth with me, and how altogether I am ruled and over-ruled thereby: I am now 20

determined to alter mine owne former purpose, and to subscribe to your advizement: being notwithstanding resolved stil, to abide your farther resolution. My principal doubts are these. First, I was minded for a while to have intermitted the uttering of my writings: leaste by over-much cloying, their noble eares, I should gather a contempt of myself, or else seeme rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it, for some sweetnesse that I have already tasted. Then also, meseemeth, the work too base for his excellent 30 Lordship, being made in Honour of a private Personage unknowne, which of some yl-willers might be upbraided, not to be so worthie, as you knowe she is: or the matter not so weightie, that it should be offered to so weightie a Personage: or the like. The selfe former Title stil liketh me well ynough, and your fine Addition no lesse. If these, and the like doubtles, maye be of importaunce in your seeming, to frustrate any parte of your advice, I beseeche you without the least selfe love of your own purpose, counsell me 40 for the beste: and the rather doe it faithfullie, and carefully, for that, in all things I attribute so much to your judgement, that I am evermore content to annihilate mine owne determinations, in respecte thereof. And indeede for your selfe to, it fitteth with you now, to call your wits and senses together, (which are alwaies at call) when occasion is so fairely offered of Estimation and Preferment. For, whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking, and minds of 50
 as their Estates. *Verum ne quid durius.*
 you bethinke you well hereof, good
 and forthwith write me those two or three

special points and caveats for the nonce, *De quibus
 in superioribus illis mellitissimis longissimisque Litteris
 tuis*. Your desire to heare of my late beeing with
 hir Majestie, muste dye in it selfe. As for the
 twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master *Sidney* and Master
Dyer, they have me, I thanke them, in some use of
 familiarity : of whom, and to whome, what speache
 passeth for youre credite and estimation, I leave your 60
 selfe to conceive, having alwayes so well conceived of
 my unfained affection and zeale towardses you. And
 nowe they have proclaimed in their ἀπειωπράγῃ a
 generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and
 also of the verie beste to : in steade whereof, they
 have, by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed
 certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English
 fillables for English Verse : having had thereof
 already great practise, and drawen mee to their
 faction. Newe Bookes I heare of none, but only 70
 of one, that writing a certaine Booke, called *The
 Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Maister *Sidney*,
 was for hys labor scorned : if at leaste it be in the
 goodnesse of that nature to scorne. Suche follie is it,
 not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie
 of him to whome wee dedicate oure Bookes. Suche
 mighte I happily incurre entituling *My Slomber*
 and the other Pamphlets unto his honor. I meant
 them rather to Maister *Dyer*. But I am, of late,
 more in love wyth my Englishe Verifying than with 80
 Ryming : whyche I should haue done long since, if
 I would then haue followed your councell. *Sed te
 solum jam tum suspicabar cum Aschamo sapere : nunc
 Aulam video egregios alere Poëtas Anglicos.*

Maister E. K. hartily defireth to be commended unto your Worshippe : of whome what accompte he maketh, your selfe shall hereafter perceiue, by hys paynefull and dutifull Verses of your selfe.

Thus much was written at Westminster yesternight : but comming this morning, beeyng the sixteenth of October, to Mystresse *Kerkes*, to have it delivered to the Carrier, I receyved youre letter, sente me the laste weeke : whereby I perceiue you otherwhiles continue your old exercise of Versifying in Englishe : whych glorie I had now thought shoulde have bene onely ours heere at London and the Court. 90

Truste me, your Verses I like passingly well, and envye your hidden paines in this kinde, or rather maligne, and grudge at your selfe, that woulde not once imparte so muche to me. But once, or twice you make a breache in Maister *Drants* Rules : *quod tamen condonabimus tanto Poëta, tuæque ipsius maximæ in his rebus auctoritati.* You shall see when we meete in London (whiche, when it shall be, certifie us) howe fast I have followed after you in that Course : beware, leaste in time I overtake you. *Veruntamen te solum sequar, (ut sæpenumero, sum professus,) nunquam sanè assequar dum vivam.* 100

And nowe requite I you with the like, not with the verye best, but with the verye shorteft, namely, with a few Iambickes : I dare warrant they be precisely perfect for the fæete (as you can easily judge), and varie not one inch from the Rule. I will imparte yours to Maister *Sidney* and Maister *Dyer* at my nexte going to the Courte. I praye you, keepe 110

mine clofe to yourfelfe, or your verie entire friendes,
Maifter *Prefton*, Maifter *Still*, and the reſte.

Iambicum Trimetrum.

Unhappie Verfe, the witneſſe of my unhappie ſtate, 120
Make thy ſelfe fluttring wings of thy faſt flying
Thought, and fly forth unto my Love wherfoever
ſhe be :

Whether lying reaſtleſſe in heavy bedde, or elſe
Sitting ſo cheereleſſe at the cheerfull boorde, or elſe
Playing alone careleſſe on hir heavenlie Virginals.

If in Bed, tell hir, that my eyes can take no reſte :
If at Boorde, tell hir, that my mouth can eate no
meate :
If at hir Virginals, tell hir, I can heare no mirth.

Asked why? ſay: Waking Love ſuffereth no ſleepe :
Say, that raging Love dothe appall the weake 130
ſtomacke :
Say, that lamenting Love marreth the Muſicall.

Tell hir, that hir pleaſures were wonte to lull me
aſleepe :
Tell hir, that hir beautie was wonte to feede
mine eyes :
Tell hir, that hir ſweete Tongue was wonte to
make me mirth.

Nowe doe I nightly waſte, wanting my kindly reſte :
Nowe doe I dayly ſtarve, wanting my lively foode :
Nowe doe I alwayes dye, wanting thy timely
mirth.

And if I wafte, who will bewaile my heavy chaunce ?
 And if I starve, who will record my curfed end ?
 And if I dye, who will faye : *this was Immerito* ? 140

I thought once agayne here to have made an ende, with a heartie *Vale* of the beft fafhion : but loe, an ylfavoured myfchance. My laft farewell, whereof I made great accompt, and muche marvelled you fhoulde make no mention thereof, I am nowe tolde (in the Divels name) was thorough one mans negligence quite forgotten, but fhoulde nowe undoubtedly have beene fent, whether I hadde come, or no. Seeing it can now be no otherwife, I pray you take all together, wyth all their faultes : 150 and nowe I hope, you will vouchfafe mee an anfwere of the largeft fize, or elfe I tell you true, you fhall bee verye deepe in my debte : notwythftanding, thys other fweete, but fhorte letter, and fine, but fewe Verfes. But I woulde rather I might yet fee youre owne good felfe, and receive a Reciprocall farewell from your owne fweete mouth.

Ad ornatiffimum virum, multis jam diu

NOMINIBUS CLARISSIMUM G. H. IMMERITO

fui, mox in Gallias navigaturi, εὐρυχῶν.

160

Sic malus egregium, fic non inimicus Amicum :
 Sicque novus veterem jubet ipfe Poëta Poëtam,
 Salvere, ac cœlo, poft fecula multa fecundo
 Jam reducem, cœlo mage, quàm nunc ipfe, fecundo
 Utier. Ecce Deus, (modò fit Deus ille, renixum
 Qui vocet in ſcelus, et juratos perdat amores)

Ecce Deus mihi clara dedit modò signa Marinus,
 Et sua veligero lenis parat Æquora Ligno,
 Mox fulcanda, suas etiam pater Æolus Iras
 Ponit, et ingentes animos Aquilonis—— 170
 Cuncta viis sic apta meis : ego solus ineptus.
 Nam mihi nescio quo mens saucia vulnere, dudum
 Fluctuat ancipiti Pelago, dum Navita proram
 Invalidam validus rapit huc Amor, et rapit illuc.
 Consiliis Ratio melioribus usa, decusque
 Immortale levi diffessa Cupidinis Arcu.
 Angimur hoc dubio, et portu vexamur in ipso.
 Magne pharetrati nunc tu contemptor Amoris,
 (Id tibi Dii nomen precor haud impune remittant)
 Hos nodos exsolve, et eris mihi magnus Apollo. 180
 Spiritus ad summos, scio, te generosus Honores
 Exstimulat, majusque docet spirare Poëtam,
 Quàm levis est Amor, et tamen haud levis est Amor
 omnis.

Ergo nihil laudi reputas æquale perenni,
 Præque sacrosancta splendoris imagine tanti,
 Cætera, quæ vecors, uti Numina, vulgus adorat,
 Prædia, Amicitias, urbana peculia, Nummos,
 Quæque placent oculis, formas, spectacula, Amores,
 Conculcare soles, ut humum, et ludibria sensus.
 Digna meo certè Harveio sententia, digna 190
 Oratore amplo, et generoso pectore, quam non
 Stoica formidet veterum Sapientia vinclis
 Sancire æternis : sapor haud tamen omnibus idem
 Dicitur effæti proles facunda Laërtæ,
 Quamlibet ignoti jactata per æquora Cœli
 Inque procelloso longum exful gurgite ponto,
 Præ tamen amplexu lachrymosæ Conjugis, Ortus

Cœlestes Divûmque thoros sprevisse beatos.
 Tantûm Amor, et Mulier, vel Amore potentior. Illum
 Tu tamen illudis : tua Magnificentia tanta est : 200
 Præque subumbrata Splendoris Imagine tanti,
 Præque illo Meritis famosis nomine parto
 Cætera, quæ Vecors, uti Numina, vulgus adorat,
 Prædia, Amicitias, armenta, peculia, nummos.
 Quæque placent oculis, formas, spectacula, Amores,
 Quæque placent ori, quæque auribus, omnia temnis.
 Næ tu grande sapias, Sapor at sapientia non est :
 Omnis et in parvis benè qui scit desipuisse,
 Sæpe superciliis palmam sapientibus aufert.
 Ludit Aristippum modò tetrica Turba Sophorum, 210
 Mitia purpureo moderantem verba Tyranno
 Ludit Aristippus dictamina vana Sophorum,
 Quod levis emensî male torquet Culicis umbra :
 Et quisquis placuisse Studet Heroibus altis,
 Desipuisse studet sic gratia crescit ineptis.
 Denique laurigeris quisquis sua tempora vittis,
 Insignire volet, Populoque placere faventi,
 Desipere infanus discit, turpemque pudendæ
 Stultitiæ laudem quærit. Pater Ennius unus
 Dictus in innumeris sapiens : laudatur at ipsa 220
 Carmina vefano fudisse liquentia vino.
 Nec tu pace tua, nostri Cato Maxime sæcli,
 Nomen honorati sacrum mereare Poëtæ,
 Quantamvis illustre canas, et nobile Carmen,
 Ni stultire velis, sic S[t]ultorum omnia plena,
 Tuta sed in medio supereff via gurgite, nam Qui
 Nec reliquis nimium vult desipuisse videri,
 Nec sapuisse nimis, Sapientem dixeris unum.
 Hinc te merferit unda, illinc combufferit Ignis.

Nec tu delicias nimis aspernare fluentes, 230
 Nec serò Dominam, venientem in vota, nec Aurum.
 Si fapis, ablatum, (Curiis ea, Fabriciisque
 Linque viris miseris miseranda Sophismata : quondam
 Grande fui decus ii, nostri sed dedecus ævi :)
 Nec sectare nimis. Res utraque crimine plena.
 Hoc bene qui callet, (si quis tamen hoc bene callet)
 Scribe, vel invito sapientem hunc Socrate solum.
 Vis facit una pios : Justos facit altera : et altra
 Egrediè cordata, ac fortia pectora : verùm
 Omne tulit punctum, *qui miscuit utile dulci.* 240
 Dii mihi, dulce diu dederant : verum utile nunquam :
 Utile nunc etiam, ô utinam quoque dulce dedissent.
 Dii mihi (quippe Diis æquivalia maxima parvis)
 Ni nimis inuideant mortalibus esse beatis,
 Dulce simul tribuisse queant, simul utile : tanta
 Sed Fortuna tua est : pariter quæque utile, quæque
 Dulce dat ad placitum : sævo nos fydere nati
 Quæsitum imus eam per inhospita Caucafa longè,
 Perque Pyrenæos montes, Babilonaque turpem,
 Quòd si quæsitum nec ibi invenerimus, ingens 250
 Æquor inexhaustis permenfi erroribus, ultrâ
 Fluëtibus in mediis focii quæremus Ulyssis.
 Passibus inde Deam fessis comitabimur ægram,
 Nobile qui furtum quærenti defuit orbis.
 Namque sinu pudet in patrio, tenebrisque pudendis
 Non nimis ingenio Juvenem infelice videntes,
 Officiis frustra deperdere vilibus Annos,
 Frugibus et vacuas speratis cernere spicas.
 Ibimus ergo statim : (quis eunti fausta precetur ?)
 Et pede Clibofas fesso calcabimus Alpes. 260
 Quis dabit interea conditas rore Britanno,

Quis tibi Litterulas ? quis carmen amore petulcum ?
 Musa sub Oebalii defueta cacumine montis,
 Flebit inexhausto tam longa silentia planctu,
 Lugebitque sacrum lacrymis Helicon tacentem.
 Harveiusque bonus, (charus licet omnibus idem,
 Idque suo merito, prope suavior omnibus unus,)

Angelus et Gabriel, (quamvis comitatus amicis
 Innumeris, geniumque choro stipatus amæno)

Immerito tamen unum absentem sæpe requiret, 270
 Optabitque, Utinam meus hic *Edmundus* adestet,
 Qui nova scripsisset, nec Amores conticuisset
 Ipse suos, et sæpe animo verbisque benignis
 Fauſta precaretur, Deus illum aliquando reducat, &c.

Plura vellem per Charites sed non licet per Musas.
Vale, Vale plurimum, Mi amabiliſſime Harveie, meo
cordi, meorum omnium longè chariſſime.

I was minded alſo to have ſent you ſome Engliſh
 verſes : or Rymes, for a farewell : but by my Troth,
 I have no ſpare time in the world, to thinke on 280
 ſuch Toyes, that you know will demaund a freer
 head, than mine is preſently. I beſeeche you by
 all your Curtesies and Graces let me be answered
 ere I goe : which will be, (I hope, I feare, I thinke)
 the next weeke, if I can be diſpatched of my Lorde.
 I goe thither, as ſent by him, and maintained moſt
 what of him : and there am to employ my time,
 my body, my minde, to his Honours ſervice. Thus
 with many ſuperhartie Commendations and Re-
 commendations to your ſelfe, and all my friendes 290
 with you, I ende my laſt Farewell, not thinking

any more to write unto you, before I goe : and withall committing to your faithfull Credence the eternal Memorie of our everlasting friendship, the inviolable Memorie of our unspotted friendship, the sacred Memorie of our vowed friendship : which I beseech you Continue with usuall writings, as you may, and of all things let me heare some Newes from you. As gentle M. *Sidney*, I thanke his good Worship, hath required of me, and so promised to 300 doe againe. *Qui monet, ut facias, quod jam facis* ; you knowe the rest. You may alwayes send them most safely to me by *Mistresse Kerke*, and by none other. So once againe, and yet once more, Farewell most hartily, mine owne good *Master H.* and love me, as I love you, and thinke upon poore *Immerito*, as he thinketh uppon you.

Leycester House, this 5 of October, 1579.

*Per mare, per terras,
Vivus, mortuusque
Tuus Immerito.*

310

TO MY LONG APPROOVED AND
SINGULAR GOOD FRENDE, MASTER G. H.

GOOD Master H. I doubte not but you have some great important matter in hande, which al this while restraineth your Penne, and wonted readinesse in provoking me unto that, wherein your selfe now faulthe. If there bee any such thing in hatching, I pray you hartily, lette us knowe, before al the worlde see it. But if happily you dwell altogether 320

in *Justinians* Courte, and give your selfe to be deuoured of secreate Studies, as of all likelyhood you doe : yet at least imparte some your olde, or newe Latine, or Englishe, Eloquent and Gallant Poesies to us, from whose eyes, you saye, you keepe in a manner nothing hidden. Little newes is here stirred : but that olde greate matter still depending. His Honoure never better. I thinke the *Earthquake* was also there wyth you (which I would gladly learne) as it was here with us : overthrowing diuers 330
old buildings and peeces of Churches. Sure verye straunge to be hearde of in these Countries, and yet I heare some saye (I knowe not howe truely) that they have knowne the like before in their dayes. *Sed quid vobis videtur magnis Philosophis ?* I like your late Englishe Hexameters so exceedingly well, that I also enure my Penne sometime in that kinde : whyche I fynd indeede, as I have heard you often defende in worde, neither so harde, nor so harsh, that it will easily and fairely yeelde it selfe 340
to our Moother tongue. For the onely, or chieftest hardnesse, whych seemeth, is in the Accente : whyche sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ilfavouredly, comming shorte of that it should, and sometime exceeding the measure of the Number, as in *Carpenter*, the middle sillable being used shorte in speache, when it shall be read long in Verse, seemeth like a *lame Gosling that draweth one legge after hir* : and *Heaven* being used shorte as one sillable, when it is in verse stretched out with a 350
Diastole, is like a *lame Dogge that holdes up one legge*. But it is to be wonne with Custome, and

rough words must be subdued with Use. For, why a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes, have the kingdome of oure owne Language, and measure our Accentes by the founde, reserving that Quantitie to the Verse? Loe, here I let you see my olde use of toying in Rymes, turned into your artificial straightnesse of Verse, by this *Tetraſticon*. I 360
 beseech you tell me your fanſie without parcialitie.

See yee the blindfoulded pretie God, that feathered
 Archer,
 Of Lovers Miferies which maketh his bloodie game?
 Wote ye why, his Moother with a Veale hath
 coovered his Face?
 Trust me, leaſt he my Looove happely chaunce to
 beholde.

Seeme they comparable to those two, which I
 translated you *ex tempore* in bed, the last time we
 lay together in Westminster?

That which I eate did I joy, and that which I
 greedily gorged,
 As for those many goodly matters leaſt I for others. 370

I would hartily wiſh, you would either ſend me
 the Rules and Precepts of Arte, which you obſerve
 in Quantities, or else followe mine, that M. Philip
 Sidney gave me, being the very ſame which M. Drant
 deviſed, but enlarged with M. Sidneys own judgement,
 and augmented with my Obſervations, that we might
 both accorde and agree in one: leaſte we overthrowe
 one an other, and be overthrowen of the reſt. Truſte

me, you will hardly beleeve what greate good liking
 and estimation Maister *Dyer* had of your *Satyricall* 38c
Verfes, and I, since the viewe thereof, having before
 of my felfe had speciall liking of *Englishe Versifying*,
 am even now aboute to give you some token, what,
 and howe well therein I am able to doe : for, to tell
 you trueth, I minde shortely at convenient leysure, to
 sette forth a Booke in this kinde, whiche I entitle
Epithalamion Thamesis, whyche Booke, I dare under-
 take wil be very profitable for the knowledge, and
 rare for the Invention and manner of handling. For
 in setting forth the marriage of the Thames : I 39c
 shewe his first beginning, and offspring, and all the
 Countrey, that he passeth thorough, and also describe
 all the Rivers throughout Englande, whyche came
 to this Wedding, and their righte names, and right
 passage, &c. A worke, beleeve me, of much labour,
 wherein notwithstanding Master *Holinshed* hath
 muche furthered and advantaged me, who therein
 hath bestowed singular paines, in searching oute
 their firste heades and fources : and also in tracing
 and dogging oute all their Course, til they fall into 40c
 the Sea.

O Tite, fiquid, ego,
 Ecquid erit pretij?

But of that more hereafter. Nowe, my *Dreames* and
Dying Pellicane, being fully finished (as I partelye
 signified in my laste Letters) and presentlye to bee
 imprinted, I wil in hande forthwith with my *Faery*
Queene, whyche I praye you hartily send me with al
 expedition : and your frendly Letters, and long ex-
 pected Judgement wythal, whyche let not be shorte, 410

but in all pointes fuche, as you ordinarilye use, and I extraordinarily desire. *Multum vale. Westminster. Quarto Nonas Aprilis 1580. Sed, amabo te, meum Corculum tibi se ex animo commendat plurimum: jamdiu mirata, te nihil ad literas suas responsi dedisse. Vide quæso, ne id tibi Capitale sit: Mihi certè quidemerit, neque tibi hercle impunè, ut opinor, Iterum vale, & quam voles sæpè.*

Yours alwayes to commaunde,

IMMERITO. 420

Postscripte.

I take best my *Dreames* shoulde come forth alone, being growen by meanes of the Glosses (running continually in maner of a Paraphrase) full as great as my *Calendar*. Therin be some things excellently, and many things wittily discoursed of E. K. and the pictures so singularly set forth, and purtrayed, as if *Michael Angelo* were there, he could (I think) nor amende the beste, nor reprehende the worst. I know you woulde lyke them passing wel. Of my 430 *Stemmata Dudleiana*, and especially of the sundry Apostrophes therein, addressed you knowe to whome, must more advisement be had, than so lightly to sende them abroad: howbeit, trust me (though I doe never very well) yet in my owne fancie, I never dyd better. *Veruntamen te sequor solum: nunquam verò assequar.*

QUOTATION FROM HARVEY'S REPLY.

But Master *Collin Cloute* is not every body, and albeit his olde Companions, *Master Cuddy* and *Master* 440 *Hobbinoll* be as little beholding to their *Mistresse Poetrie*, as ever you wist: yet he peradventure by the meanes of hir special favour, and some personall priviledge, may happely live by *Dying Pellicanes*, and purchase great landes, and Lordshippes, with the money, which his *Calendar* and *Dreames* have and will affourde him. *Extra jocum*, I like your *Dreames* passingly well: and the rather, bicause they favour of that singular extraordinarie veine and invention, which I ever fancied moste, and in a 450 maner admired onely in *Lucian*, *Petrarche*, *Aretine*, *Pasquill*, and all the most delicate and fine conceited Grecians and Italians: (for the Romanes to speake of, are but verye Ciphars in this kinde :) whose chiefeft endeavour, and drifte was, to have nothing vulgare, but in some respecte or other, and especially in *lively Hyperbolicall Amplifications*, rare, quaint, and odde in every pointe, and as a man would saye, a degree or two at the leaste, above the reache, and compasse of a common Schollers capacitie. In whiche 460 respecte notwithstanding, as well for the singulartie of the manner, as the Divinitie of the matter, I hearde once a Divine, preferre *Saint Johns Revelation* before al the veriest *Metaphysicall Visions*, and jollyest conceited *Dreames* or *Extasies*, that ever were devised by one or other, howe admirable, or super excellent soever they seemed otherwise to

the worlde. And truely I am so confirmed in this opinion, that when I bethinke me of the verie notablest, and moſte wonderful Propheticall, or Poeti- 470 call Viſion, that ever I read, or hearde, me ſeemeth the proportion is ſo unequall, that there hardly appeareth anye ſemblance of Compariſon: no more in a manner (eſpecially for Poets) than doth betweene the incomprehenſible Wiſdome of God, and the ſenſible Wit of man.

But what needeth this digreſſion between you and me? I dare ſaye you wyll holde yourſelfe reaſonably wel ſatiſfied, if youre *Dreames* be but as well eſteemed of in Englande, as *Petrarches* 480 *Viſions* be in Italy: which I aſſure you, is the very worſt I wiſh you. But, ſee, how I have the *Arte Memorative* at commaundement. In good faith I had once againe nigh forgotten your *Faerie Queene*: howbeit by good chaunce, I have nowe ſent hir home at the laſte, neither in better nor worſe caſe, than I ſounde hir. And muſt you of neceſſitie have my judgement of hir indeede? To be plaine, I am voyde of al judgement, if your *Nine Comædies*, whereunto in imitation of *Herodotus*, you 490 give the names of the *Nine Muſes* (and in one mans fanſie not unworthily) come not neerer *Ariſtoſes Comædies*, eyther for the fineneſſe of plaufible Elocution, or the rareneſſe of Poetical Invention, then that *Elviſh Queene* doth to his *Orlando Furioſo*, which notwithstanding, you wil needes ſeeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly profeſſed yourſelf in one of your laſt Letters.

Befides that you know, it hath bene the uſual

FROM SPENSER TO HARVEY.

one of the most exquisite and odde wittes in all 500
 the world, specially in *Italy*, rather to shewe, and
 to please themselves that way, than any other: as
 hath those three notorious dyscourfing heads,
Lucian, *M. Lucell*, and *Aretine* did, (to let *Bembo*
 and *Scaliger* pacie with the great admiration, and
 entertainment of the whole country: being in deede
 unmatchable in all points, both for conceyt of
 the most eloquent decyphering of matters, either
 with *Demetrius* and *Menander* in Greek, or with
Cicero and *Terence* in Latin, or with any other, in 510
 any thing. But I wil not stand greatly with
 your wittie matters. If so be the *Faerye*
 be more iure in your eie than the *Nine Muses*,
 and you have runne away with the Garland from
 what I have what I have, and yet I will not say
 that I thought but there an End for this once, and
 as for the rest, till God or some good Aungell putte
 me on a better minde.

END OF VOL. IX.

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